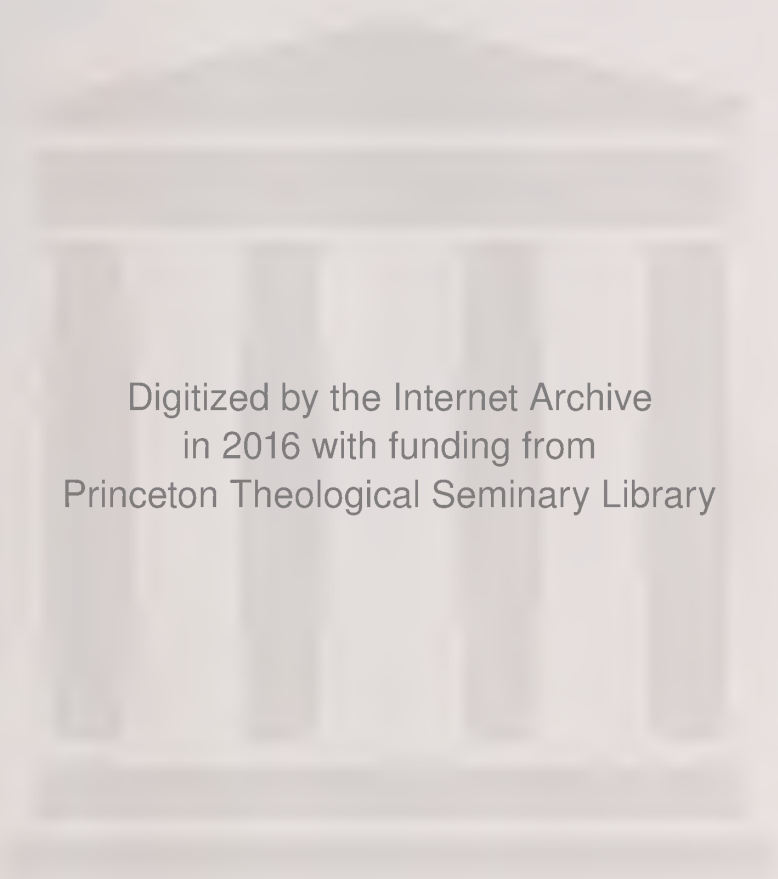




PER BR 1 .P624 v.1

The Presbyterian and
reformed review



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW

No. 2—April, 1890.

I.

THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN ART TO THEOLOGY.

I.

THERE is a reasonable excuse for the many who see no connection between the development of art and that of theological ideas in the history of Christianity, and fail to perceive that art and literature were twin sisters in the service of religion, inspired by the same thoughts, but appealing, the one to the sentiment, the other to the intellect. For this connection was severed long since—fully four centuries ago—never to be fully renewed, and its existence can now be conceived only by an effort of the imagination conjuring up the ghost of departed realities that appeal no more to the common consciousness of the nineteenth century. In art, far more than in literature, the scene shifts as rapidly as the colors of a sunset: words retain their meaning, but a work of art has a different one for every generation. It is strangely difficult for us to grasp the meaning of the fact that through the general illiteracy of the people, works of religious art were the direct means of instruction in religious belief for nine-tenths of the body of Christians up to the time of the Reformation. And yet, what use has been made of this fact? In what history is the aid of the monuments called in systematically? In what work on the development of Christian theology is a place given to the paintings and sculptures which, through a period of over a thousand years, show more strikingly than words the beliefs of the people and their teachers, with all their slight, temporal and local variations? As a modern writer well says: “The faintest shadows that darkened, or the lightest breath that disturbed the

harmony of the Church, was immediately reflected by the pencil of the artist and the chisel of the sculptor. Almost every ancient edifice, therefore, becomes as it were, to the eye of the Christian student, a hieroglyphic record of the changes which the Church has undergone during successive ages, whether produced by external influence or by heresies generated within herself." *

Some seek to make the value of art depend on nothing but technical perfection, varieties of color, form or atmosphere; others seek to subordinate it to literature. But in history its mission has been broader and higher. For Christian art was the expression of the best thought in forms capable of being apprehended by the humblest intelligences. It was not only the Bible of the poor, the visible message to the people of the doctrines of salvation. Far more than this, it appealed to the highest intelligences; even men like St. Augustine and Gregory the Great † were roused to fully as great emotion at the sight of painted truths as at that of truths written or spoken. A mediæval painting should never be considered as the expression of the individual feeling or opinion of the artist: for art was under the control of the clergy, and, even when it seemed to be following its own devices, received its impulses from the controlling religious spirit of the age. This, for example, is the case, both during the early period of the catacombs and the creative age of the Gothic revival, when art seemed free from ecclesiastical supervision. In the former, the simple beliefs of the people are mirrored in all their ingenuous purity: in the latter, the lay artists submitted to the sway of the encyclopædic system constructed by scholastic theologians. And so, at all times, art was both a message of the faith of the fathers to the flock, and conversely an embodiment of the general belief. As we watch its varying phases, we can trace an obvious correspondence between the writings of the teachers of the Church and the decrees of the councils, on the one hand, and the works of art, on the other. Sometimes the work of art is a consequence of the decree or the written opinion, but often it antedates them, being a more spontaneous expression of a belief which afterwards, becoming general, crystallizes into formal dogmatic shape.

A sense of the intense reality of this message of art for mediæval Christians must be felt before we can understand its mission. This religious mission we Protestants fail to realize. We are apt to hold art lightly because we fancy its aim to be beauty or realism, an ornament for the gratification of our æsthetic sense, and to think it

* E. J. Millington in the Preface to his translation of DIDRON, *Christian Iconography*, p. iv. London, 1857.

† For St. Augustine consult, for example, *De Steph. mart.*, Sermo 316, in which he speaks of a painting representing the stoning of St. Stephen.

a failure when it does not comply with this standard. This view would have seemed foolish and incomprehensible to men like Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Eusebius and even Clement of Alexandria and Origen. When, in about 435, Pope Sixtus III had finished what was, next to the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, the most magnificent church in the world, Sta. Maria Maggiore, he placed on the walls of the apse and nave a series of Mosaic pictures whose subjects were taken from the Old and New Testaments, and above them on the arch of the apse he inscribed the simple but eloquent words, *Sixtus Episcopus Plebi Dei*. From this time forward, the same position was held, and six hundred years later, in 1025, we find the Synod of Arras declaring: *Illiterati, quod per Scripturam non possunt intueri, hoc per quædam picturæ lineamenta contemplantur*.

I shall pause for a moment to consider somewhat in detail the attitude taken towards the fine arts from reference to the words (1) of the councils, (2) of the popes, (3) of the civil rulers, and (4) of the most prominent writers; a few examples will be sufficient:

The Synod of Elvira in Spain, held shortly after 300, seems to have been the first to occupy itself with the figured monuments. Previous to the fourth century, the fine arts were used more for decorative than didactic purposes. Among the laws of Constantine and Theodosius, and later of Theodoric, are a number regarding artists and their special privileges. Very soon the didactic value of art becomes recognized. Proof of this may be found in the works of many writers and fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, among whom are Athanasius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Macarius, Eumenius, Cyril, Basil, the two Gregorys, Optatus, Ambrose, Nilus, Prudentius, Jerome, Ausonius, Asterius and Paulinus of Nola.* Then, as well as before and after, at the time of the Iconoclasts, art entered largely into the controversy respecting the physical beauty or ugliness of Christ, in which Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Basil and Cyril were partisans of Christ's ugliness, and Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine were partisans of His beauty.†

Paulinus, of Nola, a pupil of St. Ambrose, explains‡ why the church walls were covered with paintings, by saying that the great majority of those who crowd into the churches are illiterate and

* AUGUSTINE, *In solemn. Steph. mart.*, Sermo cccxvi. CHRYSOSTOM, *Encom. S. Melet.*, Hom. xlvii; *De Lazar.*, *In Matt.*, Hom. xlix-l. BASIL, Hom. xvii, *In Barl. mart.*; Hom. xix, *In Quadr. mart.* GREGORY NYSS, *Orat. de S. Theod. mart.* NILUS, *Epist. ad Olymp.* PRUDENTIUS, Hymn. ix, x, xi and *passim*. PAULINUS, *De S. Felice Nat.*; *Epist. ad Sever.*

† The early leaders of the African Church were, as a rule, partisans of the physical ugliness and meanness of Christ; of them Tertullian held the extremest views, asserting that Christ's aspect was vulgar and ignoble.

‡ *Poema xxvi de Felice Natal. Carm. ix.*

ignorant, but, by contemplating the temptations and triumphs of the martyrs and the symbolic and historical subjects painted on every side, their hearts would be stirred with courage and emulation. The same thought is expressed by *St. Nilus*, in his sixty-first epistle: "Let the painters trace on the walls of our churches the history of the two Testaments; let them narrate the glorious acts of those who were faithful to God, so that the ignorant may become the imitators of those whose virtues they contemplate."

Still later, Gregory the Great, who labored all his life to exalt art as a teaching medium, writes reprovingly to a bishop who had destroyed the paintings in his church through fear of a too great devotion to them on the part of his congregation. He says: "Painting is the Bible of the ignorant, and we should not take away from them what is perhaps the best means to lead them to the knowledge of the truth." In another place he says: "*Quod legentibus scriptura, hoc præstat pictura cernentibus.*"

Art, then, became so important a factor in religion that its steps were carefully guarded, and, like a child in leading strings, it was never allowed out of sight. As early as the sixth century the veneration for images came so near to being a cult that it excited a controversy which culminated in the Iconoclastic movement. The second Council of Nicæa, held in 789 to decide on the question of images, claimed that art was merely an instrument of religion. In its sixth canon we read, "How can the painters be accused of error? The artist invents nothing, but follows the approved legislation and tradition of the Catholic Church." The Council of Frankfort in 794, that of Paris in 824, and the Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 869, all considered the question of images and the relation of art to religion. The Carlovingian period is notable for the full recognition, by the imperial capitularies of Charlemagne and Louis,* of the fact that churches were not complete places of worship until the religious instruction was made clearer by painted images. As St. Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople at this time, says: "They render the evangelical truth more palpable, more real."† It would be a grave omission not to mention, at least, the practice of art by the monastic orders. The early Benedictines, the Clunians and Cistercians, the Dominicans and Franciscans, may all be said to have developed special artistic characteristics. In St. Bernard's contention with the Clunians, he contrasts the gorgeous richness of their art with the Cistercian simplicity; and this differ-

* KAROL. MAG., *De imag.*, l. iii, c. 16. *Capit.*, ann. 807, c. vii. *Capit. Kur. Mag. et Lud. Pix.*, l. iv, c. 35; l. v, c. 97; l. vi, c. 49. *Capit.*, ann. 809, c. v. Cf. MURATORI, not. in Leo Ost. *Chron. ap. Scr. rer. Ital.*, t. iv, p. 275.

† In his polemic against Eusebius, ap. PITRA, *Spicil. Solesmense*, t. iv, p. 280.

ence in art ideals, which even to-day is so evident to the student, occupies a very important place in the dispute.*

It would be superfluous to cite examples from succeeding centuries, and the only movement that should be mentioned as a new departure in the science of art pedagogics is the encyclopædic development of the Gothic period, which corresponds to scholasticism in theology. Here the relation is most close and striking. We pass from the rather limited iconography of the eleventh and early twelfth century to the rich and complex system of subjects of the thirteenth, all strictly coördinated according to the four divisions given by Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum Universale*—Nature, Science, Ethics, History, or the *to be, to know, to act, and to live*, of existence. By carrying out this gigantic plan, a Gothic cathedral, with its tens of thousands of carved and painted figures, became a general compendium of all the knowledge and thought of the period. It contained figured treatises of theology, astronomy, anthropology and cosmology, in the sphere of *Nature*; of agriculture, manufacture, commerce, and art, in the sphere of *Science*; of the many virtues and vices, theological, political, domestic and personal, in the sphere of *Ethics*; of the history of the world, from the Creation to the Last Judgment, by the aid of fact and prophecy, in the sphere of *History*.

Several of the more popular encyclopædias of the time were used in framing these cycles of artistic creations: such were the *Hortus Deliciarum*; the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas; the *Imago Mundi*, and the *Speculum Universale* or *Historiale* already mentioned. The two main sources for purely religious subjects were the *Biblia Historiale* or *Biblia Pauperum*,† and the

* The Cistercians used glass or wooden chalices and patens, wooden crosses, iron chandeliers, no embroideries, hangings, robes, sculptures, or paintings. St. Bernard inveighs against the order of Cluny for the rich and costly hangings, the gold and silver ornaments and vessels, the strange sculptures of the capitals and portals of their churches. There is an interesting dialogue on this subject between a monk of Cîteaux and a monk of Cluny, written between 1153 and 1174, published in MARTENE & DURAND, *Thes. nov. anecd.*, t. v, col. 1570, *sqq.* See, also, Saint Bernard's *Apologia ad Guillelm.* c. xii.

† These illustrated Bibles were especially popular in Germany and France during the Gothic period. The *Biblia Pauperum* consisted of compositions representing the Gospel history from the Annunciation to Pentecost, each one being accompanied by subjects from the Old Testament which were its prophecies or types. It was multiplied by wood engraving among the people in the fifteenth century, and was used for purposes of instruction. The origin of such a series has been carried back to the ninth and tenth centuries; but such a concordance of subjects of the Old and New Testaments for didactic purposes is to be found in Rome as early as the seventh century, as shown by the series of paintings procured there by Benedict, bishop of Wiremouth, in England, in 678 and 684 (*ap. BEDA, opp.*, ed. Migne, p. 720).

collection of legends made by Jacobo da Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*.*

There is, therefore, down to the period of the Reformation, a general *consensus* of councils, popes, rulers and writers regarding the important position occupied by art toward theology and religious teaching. The next step is to ascertain whether their attitude was justified: whether there was in reality a correspondence between the monuments and the known phases of theological development; and whether the use of the monuments would help us to-day to any extent in a study of this development.

II.

The first eight centuries are usually considered to form the first great division of Christian history. They will also be found to cover the primitive period of Christian art. This division is so evident that it has been universally adopted; witness Garrucci's great work on the monuments of Christian art. Throughout this epoch, certain general characteristics appear, in different forms, in every branch of culture. In art the following are the most clearly marked: a continuation of classic influence, first Roman, then Greek, which though gradually weakened is never entirely lost; a symbolic and allegoric idealism pervading the choice and treatment of subjects; a tendency to emphasize those ideas which were of general import. This *ontological* epoch again has a continuous development and falls into three parts. The first closes in about 300 A. D., at the time of the movement which led to the Council of Nicæa. Its monumental remains are almost exclusively in the Roman catacombs; they are but little doctrinal or individual in character, and the favorite subjects are such general or symbolic ones as the Good Shepherd, the symbol of Divine help and protection; the Orante, or praying figure representing the Church or the individual soul; the peacock and the phoenix of resurrection; the anchor of hope; the dove of innocence; the fish, whose letters form the initials of the name of Christ; and many others. During this epoch was invented almost the entire system of figured symbols employed, with ever-diminishing frequency, during the succeeding epochs. This fact is confirmed by the writings of Tertullian and Clement, who often make mention of them and explain their significance.

*Notwithstanding the condemnation of the apocryphal writings of the early centuries by the ecclesiastical authorities, they continued from the earliest to the latest period to furnish more material to artists than the Bible itself. These and the legends of the saints and martyrs then current were collected into a body by the Genoese bishop, Jacopo da Voragine, whose work became a *corpus* continually consulted by artists as well as students.

A more *theological* epoch is inaugurated with the fourth century. The personality of Christ, which has hitherto remained hazy and ill-defined in art, being given in symbols and allegories, looms up with new distinctness and majesty, the Divine personality receiving an expression never given to it before. He is represented performing all the miracles of His dispensation; surrounded by His apostles; standing on the rock of life from which flow the four streams symbolizing the rivers of paradise and the four Gospels; or enthroned in heaven as Lord of all. His colossal figure begins to be placed in the centre of the apse, the most sacred point of the church. The art, then, was evidently keeping step with the theology and becoming strongly Christological. To a date corresponding very nearly to that of the Council of Nicæa all archæologists assign the carving of a sarcophagus now in the Lateran Museum, on which is what appears to be the only early representation of the three persons of the Trinity in human forms, all sharing in the creation of man—a coincidence to be noticed. Toward the close of this epoch, during the second half of the fifth century, comes the growth of that elaborate system for the teaching of religious truths by artistic illustrations which, once started, becomes the keynote to our study of the subject. Already Prudentius (†413) and Paulinus of Nola (†431) in about 400 had sketched a preliminary series. On the walls of the churches and in the pages of manuscripts the whole history of the Old and New Testaments began to be displayed for the instruction of the people. As in the sculptures of the sarcophagi, the subjects of the Old Testament were chosen with reference to their symbolic meaning and as types of the facts and truths of the New Dispensation. This school of art is still idealistic; it refrains from realism and the more purely human side of its world of possible subjects. It has not yet represented the Passion and the Crucifixion of Christ. It also retained, from the previous centuries, some of their many symbols and allegories. The influence of the East upon the West at this time is very evident—in the earliest portraits of Christ, for example—and the first works which in technique and in spirit evidence the rise of a true Christian art, independent of classic trammels, are to be found at Ravenna, the centre of Greek influence in Italy.

But a change is soon perceptible as we enter into the third division of this period, lasting from about 550 to 800, which we will term the *psychological*, on account of the prominence of the humanistic element. It is well known that at this time theological discussions turned mainly upon questions of anthropology and psychology, and this characteristic is well exemplified in the fine arts. On every hand we see the increase of the veneration paid to saints; in San

Paolo, at Rome, the series of portraits of the popes is painted; in the catacomb chapels, the martyrdoms of saints; at Nicæa, the portraits of all the bishops attending the second council; in nearly every church the details of the lives and miracles of the patron saints.

All scruples as to representing the details of the passion and crucifixion of Christ* are at an end, at a time when the mind preferred to dwell rather upon His sufferings than His triumph. And greater realism was shown in the selection and treatment of all artistic subjects. Two authoritative historic data are at hand to prove this general drift. In 692, the Quinisext Council of Constantinople condemns allegory in art, and especially enjoins the representation of Christ in human form,† the consequence of which was the substitution of the realistic crucifixion for the symbolical Apocalyptic lamb.

The second fact is the decided image worship prevalent in the East, and from which the West did not escape, leading to the Iconoclastic persecutions, of which the proscription by Leo the Isaurian in 726, was the first step. At the close of these persecutions the Greek clergy more than ever made use of art as a principal method of inculcating the religious ideas of which they wished to make a propaganda among the people. The monasteries had been the centres of resistance to the Iconomachic emperors, especially the Studite monastery in Constantinople, and those of Salonica and Antioch. They spread orthodox doctrines by means of pictures that could be easily circulated, constructing for this purpose the illustrated Psalter which was very popular in the East for several centuries. Its elaborate miniatures are symbolic, historic, theological or illustrative; here were developed new types with more freedom than in any other form of art. Many theological conceptions received here their first artistic form, for in these informal compositions the individual element was allowed freer scope than in monumental works.

* Among the earliest examples of such a series of subjects are the upper row of mosaic pictures in the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, attributable to the time of Theodoric (c. 500); the reliefs on the wooden door of Santa Sabina at Rome, which seem to date from the sixth century; the ivory easket of Brescia (Garrucci, tav. 441-5); four ivory tablets of the British Museum (*ib.*, tav. 446); the Milanese diptychs (*ib.*, tav. 450); the Cambridge codex of c. 600 (*ib.*, tav. 141); the Syriac codex (Zagha) of the Laurentian library, at Florence.

† "In certain venerable pictures the lamb, to whom the Precursor is pointing, is painted, being considered as a figure of the true lamb, Christ our God, according to the law. Having first adopted these ancient figures and shadows as signs and emblems of the truth according to the tradition of the Church, we now prefer grace and truth itself as the fulfillment of the law. We therefore command that in the place of the lamb hitherto used the representations of Christ our God, who took away the sins of the world, whether carved or painted, be given in his human shape, in order that realizing by this means the greatness of the humiliation of the Word of God, through His passion and death, we should rise to the idea of His redemption of the world."

Here closes the first general period. In art as well as in doctrine we find it to be the most creative, original, instructive period. In both spheres there is a corresponding development and succession of leading ideas; art is at first slow of growth and tentative in its efforts, but it soon, in the sixth century, takes its place side by side with literature, and even appears in some cases to precede it.

The second period lasts from about 800 to 1400, which dates mark the beginning and end of the Scholastic period. Its general character is intellectual and theological; it reasons more than it feels, and has less inspiration than logic. In art it develops and organizes that part of its inheritance with which it feels in greatest sympathy, and the use of art for didactic ends thoroughly agrees with its desire to systematize all existing knowledge. This is not so apparent during the first epoch of its development, from 800 to 1000. As in the corresponding time in the preceding period the formative and pictorial arts received but little attention, especially in the West, where the new mediæval Germanic culture had not yet become organized. Art did not become aggressive and productive until the second and most emphatically theological portion of the period, between 1000 and 1200, when there was a steady increase in technical perfection and ideal value. It is interesting to compare this in detail with the corresponding unfolding of scholasticism and mysticism from Anselm to Duns Scotus, and from the St. Victorians to Souzo. If this were done, for example, in respect to the increasing worship of the Virgin it would be evident that then as at many other times art was the earlier expression of a popular belief which, spreading from below upwards, afterwards swept along with it the leading minds of later generations. Of developed Gothic art nothing need be said, as it is elsewhere referred to and its character is better known than that of any other phase of our subject.

Here Christian art culminates. In the East all is finished with the downfall of Byzantine civilization in 1204 and 1453. In the West a new period begins with different ideals and modes of expression, extending from 1400 to the present century. This is a period more difficult to grasp, full of contrasts, split into cliques. Through its humanistic and individual character, art is largely governed by the peculiarities of each artist or cultured centre instead of by a general law of development. Local differences can be studied; the sentimental Siennese, the practical Florentines, the naturalistic Lombards, all show in their art the popular characteristics.

Although the fine arts remained as good representatives of the age, they served to show its love of science, of antiquity, of literature, humanity, and the beautiful, rather than the love of religion. If art had then become partly secularized, this does not alter the

fact that the special forms taken by the religious thought of Catholicism during the past three or four centuries can be as readily as ever detected from the monuments. When Philip II sent his ambassador to Rome to plead in favor of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, about three hundred years before it was actually decreed, he placed a painting representing this subject on the prow of the admiral's vessel. The sweep of mysticism, the cult of the Sacred Heart, of the Queen of Heaven, are all fully illustrated by schools of artists whose works served to propagate the doctrines. Such was the great Bolognese school of painting with its Caracci, Guido Reni, Domenichino, and others; the Spanish school with Murillo at its head. More modest, but still more far-reaching, were the multitude of illustrations of religious subjects with which Europe was flooded after the invention of wood engraving, used so lavishly not only by Catholics but by Protestants throughout the sixteenth century and even earlier.

Besides the decline in religiousness there is another cause for the diminishing importance of art as a representative of theology during the last few centuries; I mean the great increase in the number of the learned class and the spread of education among the people. Art was no longer the direct means of instruction, except for the humblest; literature usurped the greater part of its duties. But the idea still remains. When the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed in 1854, Pope Pius IX solemnized the fact by causing to be painted, in one of the main halls of the Vatican, adjoining the stanzas of Raphael, a large fresco representing the glorification of the Immaculate Mother of God. There it stands, a monument impressive and instructive for modern Catholics, repulsive for us, and many will see it and be impressed by it who have never read the papal bull proclaiming the dogma. In the Piazza di Spagna stands a lofty column surmounted by a statue of the Virgin treading upon the serpent, surrounded above by the symbols of the Evangelists and below by statues of prophets, comparable to the triumphal columns erected by the Roman emperors. Both of these works are testimonials to the new Catholic theology which, according even to Bishop Ullathorne, replaces the old Christianity.

III.

A glance at this broad field of Christian art, from a geographical and ethnographic standpoint, shows that it naturally falls into two great divisions. The comparative relation of Eastern and Western Christianity, in the formation of art, seems hardly to have been understood. In theology, the immense superiority of the Greek

Church is conceded ; and we credit it with the glory of having originated most of the theological conceptions of Christian thought. This was the case with art also ; and it had to be so, as the monuments were but the sentimental expression of the same theological conceptions that found intellectual shape in creeds. In the first three centuries, the higher arts, especially theology and government, entirely absorbed the activities of the Greek consciousness, so that the Roman artistic types, as exemplified in the catacombs, held sway throughout the empire ; and art, but loosely bound to the faith, had as yet received no higher light of inspiration. At the time of the immense spread of Greek doctrinal theology, during the two centuries before Justinian, the same spirit renovated the Fine Arts. Greek types were introduced and gradually superseded the Roman even in a great part of Italy. We can watch, for example, the gradual disappearance of the Roman type of the earthly Christ, so frequent in the frescoes and sarcophagi of the fourth century, before the rising power of the Greek type of the heavenly Christ. The former is a beautiful beardless youth, with classic features, performing the miracles of His earthly dispensation ; the latter is a majestic King enthroned as the Saviour and Lord of the universe. It is precisely in the development of the types of Christ that the imaginative power of the Greeks and the want of originality of the Latins are most apparent. In the thirteenth century, Bishop Durandus shows us that Gothic art, despite its fertility, depicted Christ in but three aspects : as a child in the arms of His mother, as crucified, and as King of heaven. The tradition of early symbolism was broken in the West, and no spark of the imagination had evolved new types. But the Greek artist at this time, true to the idealism of his race, did not lay such stress upon the human side of Christ, exemplified in the Child and the Crucified. He constructed a series of powerful personifications of Christ, as prophet, priest and king—as the Pantocrator or Creator, as the Bread from heaven, as the Angel of the Supreme Will, as Emmanuel, as Pastor of the faithful. Of these none is more impressive than the winged Christ in white robes as the Angel of the Supreme Will. In such works as these, art seems superior to literature, for the artistic imagination, obliged to embody in a visible form a certain quality or idea, can convey to the mind of the observer a more graphic presentation than an abstract statement in words. What relation existed then between the written and the plastic idea ? It was natural that ideas should often first receive expression in literature, in the works of the principal thinkers of the day, and so it is customary even for those who recognize the doctrinal value of art to regard it, not as an initiator but rather as a posterior production, dependent upon literature. This

view is too narrow, for art is often a more spontaneous, mirror-like expression than literature of the true inwardness of a period. Many a thought a theologian would stifle or fail to utter in words through fear perhaps of a charge of heresy, or even feeling it to be out of sympathy with ruling ideas. As an artist, he was freer and could without danger represent it in mosaics or frescoes on the wall, in miniatures or in carvings. And so it happens that some heresy like that of Abelard on the Trinity, or some idea which, growing in favor, is afterwards erected into a dogma, first finds expression in art. The Virgin was painted as the Mother of God before the Council of Ephesos (431). The Crucifixion is found in East and West a century before its use was advocated by the Council of 692; the Immaculate Conception was painted many centuries before it was proclaimed; the idea of a Diabolic Trinity is, if I am not mistaken, almost wholly confined to art, though the belief in it may have been common. The fearful extent to which the worship of the Virgin as the female principle was carried at the time of the Renaissance can be realized best by a glance at some of its artistic representations in which the three persons of the Trinity are shown as held in her arms or contained in her womb; and the famous Gerson, in calling the attention of the Pope to this fearful heresy, refers not to any literature but to paintings as a proof of its existence.

Leaving this point of the relative precedence of art and literature, and returning to the comparison between the East and West, it must be granted that the creation of a Christian art, corresponding in dignity, on another plane, to the Christian theology, is due to the Eastern school, many of whose types were borrowed by the West. The process by which this took place would be interesting to study. It would then appear that the much vaunted artists of the West, not excluding the painters from Giotto to Michel Angelo, owe to the much despised Byzantine art the greater part of their ideas and the very details of their compositions; that, furthermore, the patrimony of Greek Christian art is so rich that, after subtracting what was borrowed from it by the West, much of its most precious inventions remain its sole property. But the West was no mere borrower. Especially after the direct influence of the East had ceased through the increasing isolation of the two churches, it developed along independent lines. Its psychological and naturalistic tendencies are shown in its choice of subjects and in their mode of expression. An instance in point is the way in which the earthly pilgrimage of Christ is expressed artistically. To the Eastern mind Christ, the great pilgrim from the bosom of the Father, is that winged and white-robed Divine Messenger of the Supreme Will, the ideal creation I have already referred to. The Western type, as

shown in the miniatures of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, appeals to our common humanity. Christ is the weary and wounded wanderer who returns to the Father as a wayfarer, sometimes naked, sometimes with scrip and staff, showing His wounds as proof of the accomplishment of His mission. Another instance is the Crucifixion. The first-known example of a realistic treatment was in the West, at Narbonne, in the sixth century. In the East it was idealized in two ways. At first the bust of Christ, in a circular glory, was placed above the cross, but in no way attached to it.* Even when, in the sixth and seventh centuries, the Saviour is attached to the cross, His is a bright triumphant youthful figure, without trace of suffering, crowned by the hand of the Father, and surrounded by allegorical figures; above, the sun and the moon; by the side of the cross the female personifications of the Church and the Synagogue; below, allegories of the sea and earth, and figures rising out of their tombs. Here is a scene full of poetry and beauty in which the whole earth is made to take part in the sorrow for the Redeemer, and the idea of resurrection is brought in to change their sorrow into joy. But in the West this becomes in a few centuries the realistic and painful composition from which we all turn with sorrow. Between the two there is a gulf, and nothing could show more luminously the different ideals of the two churches and periods.

If, as a rule, the West not only borrowed, but degenerated what it borrowed, there are notable exceptions, at times when the Western religious imagination was stirred. Twice this occurs with peculiar force. The first occasion is at the beginning of the Carlovingian period, when the Northern races bring a new and sturdy element into the Christian sphere, visible in art in original conceptions, often weird and wild, but always expressive, in which the spirit of the North asserted itself perhaps with more force than in a Latinized literature. The second occasion was at the inception of the Gothic period when the arts, as everything else, felt the breath of a new creative spirit. Here we may note strong analogies to Christian Greek art, and find beyond the heritage of preceding centuries a conceptive and organizing power fully equal, on another plane, to that shown centuries before in the East. Both delight in allegories and personifications, and where the Gothic artist lacks the imagination of the Greek he

* I do not need to mention the various symbols of the crucifixion, like the dolphin. The Constantinian monogram placed above the cross is a symbol corresponding exactly to the bust of Christ in the same position, and was used in the fifth century. The bust of Christ is seen in the small Oriental burettes and other objects given by Queen Theodolinda, c. 600, to the cathedral of Monza. About half a century later it appears for the only time in a monumental work of Western art, the mosaic in S. Stefano Rotondo at Rome, executed under the Greek pope, Theodore I.

makes up by a livelier fancy. Both, in their way, reach the perfection of Christian artistic expression, and if the Gothic cathedral is richer in its display, it is because of the more psychological spirit of the age which multiplied saints and legends.

IV.

This review would scarcely be adequate without at least a glance at the classes of examples by which the relations between art and theology can be most readily proved. The subjects of Christian art, in harmony with a division that applies to literature as well, may be classified under the headings of Theology, Christology, Anthropology, Soteriology, Eschatology, and Ecclesiology. To trace the development of these various groups with a running comparison to changes in corresponding theological conceptions would require volumes. I will cite only two or three instances as champions for the rest. The most important to investigate are representations (1) of the three persons of the Trinity; (2) of the life of Christ; (3) of the cult of the Virgin; and (4) of the second coming of Christ and the Last Judgment. The most remarkable fact in connection with the Trinity was that with one exception (the Lateran sarcophagus), the Father seems never to have been represented in human form until about the twelfth century; previously his principal symbol was a hand proceeding out of a cloud. It was the prevailing belief of both churches that the human form should not be used for the first person of the Trinity. John of Damascus in his writings on images in about 730 distinctly states this view, which is supported by many earlier writers.* It was not until the Renaissance that the Creation was represented as the immediate work of God the Father. Previously, in accord with the belief of the Church, the Son was the Creator of the Universe, and, with a few exceptions, it is He and not the Father who appears throughout the Old Testament scenes in which Jehovah manifests Himself. This is strong proof, if any were needed, of the universal belief in the ante-temporal union of the creative and created natures in Christ. When, in the thirteenth century, we see artistic representations of the three persons of the Trinity, the Father is given the same aspect as the Son, according to the saying: "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father"—a phrase inscribed more than once on the book held by Greek and Latin figures of Christ. Abelard's unitarianism spread and found shape in the artistic deformity of which he gave the first example—namely, a single figure with a triple face—a representation

* Garrucci refers (i, 284) to Petavio (*De Incarn.*, l. xv, ch. 14) for a collection of references from the early fathers that demonstrate this fact.

which was finally forbidden by papal decree as heretical. As the Renaissance approaches, the idea of God the Father becomes more and more prominent and the Divinity of the Son is lost sight of. A common artistic representation of this is that of the Father as a man of mature age, crowned and with flowing robes, who holds in front of Him the crucifix, while the dove descends from Him upon the head of Christ—embodying a false and heretical idea, akin to Unitarianism.* The diminished belief in the Divinity of Christ was helped by the increased belief in the Virgin as the intercessor and mediator with God, while Christ, as formerly the Father, became the severe Judge. Her figure often takes the place of that of Christ in the main portals of Gothic cathedrals. In representations of the Trinity she often becomes in reality the third person, as the personification of the Holy Spirit, as well as the mediator between God and the world. For her votaries she is the Queen of Heaven, a goddess corresponding to Aphrodite or Hera, as the female principle that seemed so necessary to all pagan religions.

The reality of the mediæval belief in Satan as the adversary of God, as personifying all the principles opposite to His, can be seen by a glance at the monuments even better than from the literature, for the belief in the negative character of evil propounded by theologians did not form a part of popular credence. Didron expected to devote a volume to the iconography of the devil, so numerous and varied are the works representing the evil nature. I will merely call attention to a very peculiar fact brought out by a number of works, and that is the belief in an Infernal Trinity. In the immense mosaic of the Last Judgment, that covers the inner façade of the cathedral at Torcello (near Venice), the colossal being who presides over the infernal regions holds in his arms a child, whose type corresponds to that of the Child Christ. In miniatures of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Diabolic Trinity is represented with a triple face in a way to correspond with the contemporary heretical type of the Trinity. In the earliest times traces can be found in literature of the idea of a triple form of evil. Garrucci calls attention to the fact that in the Apocrypha, as in the Gospel of Nicodemus, the devil is called *tricaput*, and that many of the early fathers speak of the three infernal powers as *Hades*, *Thanatos*, and the Great Serpent or King of Hell.

More fruitful than any other for comparative artistic and theological study is the iconography of the Virgin. Having but slender

* Of earlier origin was the interesting composition in which the Crucified Christ is accompanied by a second figure, a glorified Christ, almost as if to represent both the human and Divine natures. This has a certain similarity to the scene mentioned in the text.

Scriptural backing, the artist relied mainly either on the apocryphal legends which had usually become incorporated into the popular belief or on the more changeable waves of progressive religious opinion. In this case, art mainly serves to show deflections from the true Christian standard of belief. Perhaps the earliest form in which the Virgin is represented is standing with her arms extended in prayer in harmony with the words of an early father: "I love to think of her as the Church." This symbolic treatment was replaced in the fifth century by the group of the Mother and Child: in it we witness a steady degeneration from the earlier form in which the Child is the object of adoration and the mother shares but a reflected glory, to the later conception where the Child is merely an emblem necessary for the recognition of the fact that here is represented the Mother of God, the source of truth. The East is largely responsible for the growth of Mariolatry. As early as the sixth century, Mary was there introduced into representations of the Pentecost, placed in the centre, and sometimes receiving, as in the Syriac Codex of Zagba, a larger and more direct share of inspiration than the apostles. In Eastern art the Virgin also first appears as the intercessor, the sympathetic mediator, in the scene of the Last Judgment; this coincides with an entire change in the manner of regarding Christ. In earlier times he was the Loving Shepherd, saving His flock from the justice of the Father; now He becomes Himself the severe Judge, and another intercessor is thought necessary. She is made the protectress of the Byzantine empire and her effigy appears on the imperial coins. Soon the West catches the malady, and carry the idea forward, during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, in new and varied forms. The Virgin becomes the Woman of the Apocalypse; she and not Christ treads upon the head of the infernal serpent; she is the well of living water, the gate of paradise, the city of God. She is crowned Queen of Heaven, sometimes by the Son, sometimes by the entire Trinity, and she is also the first-born of the earth, the all-pervading Mother, springing into life as a dewy mist.* The extremity to which this was carried with some fanatics is such as to lead to a species of pantheism in which the Virgin represented the universal passive material principle of philosophy.

The conception of the Last Judgment has always held an impor-

* "A cloud is formed of the vapors of the earth and the fecundating heat of the sun; thus the humanity of the Saviour is made of the Virginal substance of Mary and the effusion of the Holy Ghost." In an ivory spoken of in *Rev. de l'Art Chrétien*, 1889, pp. 477-9, the Virgin is represented as stretched upon the earth and forming part of it, and the Catholic writer calls her the *Alma tellus*, as representing the entire earth. Cf. her many appellatives in the *Bull* of the Immac. Conc.

tant place since about the sixth century, and here also it is to the Greek Church that we owe the artistic types. In the earlier centuries, ideas regarding the future life and salvation were more serene and less judicial; emphasis was laid upon the salvation of the individual soul passing at once into the eternal rest. Hence the simple trustful epitaphs in the catacombs; and such idyllic scenes as the praying soul standing between two trees in the heavenly garden. The Greek artists, however, became aware before long of the possibilities of scenes of epic grandeur to be taken from *Revelation*, and so a series of Apocalyptic subjects was constructed, which soon received the place of honor in most churches. The symbolism so sympathetic to the Oriental imagination was here enabled to display itself. We see the Lamb as if slain upon the throne, with the sealed book and the seven candlesticks; above are the four living creatures; and, below, the twenty-four elders offering up their crowns. Such compositions were popular in Rome as early as the fifth and sixth centuries (at St. Paolo and SS. Cosma e Damiano), and were continued there as late as the ninth (Sta. Prassede). Even earlier than the birth of this subject is that of the Judgment scene as described in Matthew xxv, given by Western artists with a realistic rendering of the Biblical symbolism. Christ is represented with the sheep on His right hand and the goats on His left. But when, in consequence of a change in the religious consciousness, symbolism began to go out of fashion, towards the seventh century, a severer form of the Judgment scene was introduced, destined to develop into that horrible representation of hell which struck terror into so many hearts in the Middle Ages. Here, Christ in person, and not the Lamb, is represented. He is the severe Judge, and from beneath His throne start floods of consuming fire. Near Him are the Virgin and St. John as intercessors; on either side are seated the apostles; a company of angels do His bidding and separate the crowd of resurrected souls below into the body of the elect or of the damned—the former led into the bosom of Abraham, the latter cast into hell fire to be devoured by the devil. In the eighth century, John of Damascus speaks of the Last Judgment in this form as still of rare occurrence, mentioning it last among the subjects reproduced by contemporary art. The historian Cedrenus tells us that in the ninth century a famous painter from Rome, Methodius, by painting this terrifying scene, at Nicopolis, converted to Christianity, Bogoris, King of the Bulgarians, and his people.

It is interesting to compare the ideal Apocalyptic scene with this realistic Judgment, and to see how in works of art they are often amalgamated, so that elements of each are brought together to form one subject. As art became more naturalistic, the Apocalyptic scene

lost its hold upon the artistic imagination, and in the thirteenth century the culmination of the realistic form is seen in such works as the mosaics of Florence and Torcello.

A comparison with literature would show an exact correspondence in development—a steady progress of the fearful side of the idea from the time of Charlemagne to the expected millennium; and then, again, after a short respite in the eleventh century, came a further recrudescence up to the culmination in Dante's "Inferno." But the partisans of the indebtedness of art to literature would do well, before being so certain, for example, that Giotto, in his Judgment scenes drew his inspiration from Dante's poem, to familiarize themselves with the pre-Giottesque paintings, mosaics, and sculptures, from which it may be more safely affirmed that both Dante and Giotto received the ideas which they were able to express with greater psychologic force.

The last problem is, How to utilize all this material. Is there yet a *Science of Christian Iconography* as we may term it? During the last half-century, several writers have sought to establish such a science; Piper and Kraus in Germany; Didron, Martin, Cahier, Rohault de Fleury and Barbier de Montault in France; Garrucci and De Rossi in Italy. Didron is the only one, however, who undertook a general and comprehensive scheme. He published only his volume on the "Iconography of the Trinity;" his death interrupted the sequel. Up to the present, students have been too special to grasp the entire field. The science is in its formative period. It is still possible for a man like Lundy to publish a book like his "Monumental Christianity," in which many of the subjects of Christian art and consequently of Christian dogma are carried back to Hindu, Egyptian, Greek or Roman originals, regardless of facts, appearances or dates. But, although all the standards of our science are not yet so well established as to be common property, all its main data are lying at the service of any student.

The science of classic archæology is now everywhere made use of as a necessary complement to the literature of Greece and Rome in order to obtain a better defined and more complete knowledge of the ancient world. Even in view of the wealth of Christian literature it may be asserted that Christian art and archæology hold in reality, if we did but realize it, a position of similar importance, and are keys to the store-house whence we derive a living, close and sympathetic insight into the thoughts and life of our Christian ancestors. Christian monumental archæology should be taught wherever Christian history is studied.

PRINCETON.

ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM, JR.

II.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

THE right of Church Discipline is inherent in the law of self-preservation. Every proper human association claims the right to fix the terms on which persons shall enjoy its membership. But the Church of Christ is more than a human association. It is a Divine institution. Its credentials are from the Throne. It is Christ's representative on the earth for truth and righteousness. On its forehead shines more brightly than on the ancient priestly mitre the inscription, "Holiness unto the Lord." For the attainment of its high calling, the Church has not only the Gospel and Spirit of Christ, but also laws, ordinances, officers and members. It has Divine rules, according to which its adherents must walk. Loyalty has its tests. Mere names and professions may be shams. The tree is known by its fruits. There is an "acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness," and there is a "conversation as becometh the Gospel of Christ." Both these essential features the Church is bound to demand of all who are enrolled under her banner. She may not make impossible exactions of faith or life. She owes her children a reasonable liberty of conscience and judgment in the interpretation of Scripture and a tender consideration of human infirmities. But she cannot allow the pride of reason to throttle faith, nor the demands of self-indulgence to nullify the law of Christ. The honor of her Lord and the purity and edification of believers require that she should exercise over her members the vigilance and authority of a faithful love. This is her province of discipline.

Under the Mosaic economy, the civil and ecclesiastical codes were so closely allied that the transgression and penalty of one were often those of the other also. But besides many gross crimes which were liable to the penalty of death under that civil code (and also under the laws of other nations around), there are thirty-six cases of offense named in the Pentateuch where the punishment of being "cut off" is denounced against the offender. The precise significance of that phrase is somewhat disputed among Biblical scholars, but in most cases it seems to illustrate the language used in the Epistle to the Hebrews x, 28: "He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses."

In the latter part of that dispensation the Jewish Church had a process and gradation of discipline, ranging in four stages from private admonition by a minister of the synagogue to the terrible formality of excommunication, in which almost all imaginable curses and horrors were invoked on the culprit, on body and soul, for time and eternity. Its terrible language seems to indicate it as the prototype of the fearful curse "with bell, book and candle" which the Pope of Rome pronounces once a year, on the day preceding Good Friday, on the heretics of the world. But in either case, whether these ferocious anathemas were pronounced by the hierarchy of Jerusalem or that of Rome, they were the fulminations of mere mortal malice, which, however distressing within the sphere of ecclesiastical power, had no warrant from the Word of God.

In the New Testament, the right and duty of discipline in the Christian Church are recognized; some suggestions are made concerning it; here and there an injunction or partial rule is given; but nothing formal or complete is revealed. Truths are announced for faith, laws are given for life, spiritual experiences are depicted, evidences of the new birth are described, but precisely what the Church is to do towards those who prove themselves unworthy to remain among Christ's disciples, is nowhere fully and unequivocally declared. In the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, so generally referred to in steps of discipline, the subject of the Saviour's discourse is personal offense and personal forgiveness. After more private methods of reconciliation have failed, the Church is to be finally appealed to as an umpire. The result thus obtained contemplates the relations of the offender, not directly to the Church, but to the party offended: "Let him be unto *thee* as a heathen man and a publican." The most of this chapter has reference to the personal traits of humility and forgiveness as contrasted with ambition and revenge. The allusion to "the Church" as an umpire is so obscure to us, that one has only to examine the principal commentators on the passage to discover the greatest variety of opinions as to whether the then present Jewish Church, or the future Christian Church, was intended; whether it was the Church collectively, or as represented by its rulers. Alford closes his comment with the remark that "nothing could be farther from the spirit of our Lord's command than proceedings in what were oddly enough called ecclesiastical courts."

If allusion be made to "the *keys* of the kingdom of heaven" which were given to Peter in the sixteenth chapter, and to the power "to *bind and loosen*" given to him there, and to all the apostles in this eighteenth chapter, we are again met by conflicting interpretations of terms, not only by men of different schools, but by different

men of the same school ; and we are met also by the fact that the keys thus committed to the apostles were put into the hands of men endowed with supernatural wisdom and authority, not transferable to any successors. Any claim therefore to a modern possession of the keys must rest on remote inference and with modified interpretation.

The first clear case of Church discipline comes before us in the instance of the offending member in the Church of Corinth, described in the first epistle to that Church, fifth chapter, and several times alluded to in the second epistle. Here the apostle makes a peremptory demand on the Church to "put away from among them that wicked person." He declares that, in his apostolic authority, he had judged the case already, and he commands the Church forthwith to take formal action in the matter. This is his language: "In the name of our Lord Jesus, ye being gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (*Revised Version*). Here we have not a mere personal grievance, but an offense against virtue and decency. Here we have a public, formal act of the Church against the wicked person. Here we have the exclusion of the offender from the fellowship of the Church. And, lastly, we have here the special terrible act of the apostle, in "delivering the guilty one over unto Satan, for the destruction of the body," perhaps by fatal disease ; that by the dreadful punishment sanctified to the offender, the spirit might be saved at last. Here, however, we are again confronted by the superhuman elements of apostolic functions, with which the modern Church has nothing to do. The only parts of such a transaction to which we may aspire are the vindication of the Church's honor by the exclusion of such an offender from her communion, and the aim and effort to have the discipline subserve his salvation in the end. With the delivery unto Satan we have nothing to do. This same phrase of apostolic "deliverance unto Satan" occurs in regard to Hymenæus and Alexander (1 Tim. i, 20), where nothing is said of any action by the Church, and where the design of the mysterious punishment was "that they might learn not to blaspheme."

In the messages of our ascended Lord to the Seven Churches of Asia, there are three of them who are addressed either with approval or censure upon matters relating to Church discipline, viz., Ephesus, Pergamos and Thyatira. The language of the Great Inspector to these Churches indicates his requirement of all his churches to maintain the honor of truth and holiness among their members.

But after a careful and candid examination of these and all other passages pertaining to the subject of Church discipline, we are brought to the conclusion that, while the obligation is clear as a matter

of principle and duty, yet there is no specific rule or model given. Everything is left to the judgment of the churches, guided by the principles of Christian ethics, as given in the Word and applied by the grace of the Holy Spirit, in the particular circumstances of every case.

It is in this department of Church life as it is in the broader department of Church government, where Christ and His apostles have left matters so undefined that Christian scholars of equal learning and piety are also equally divided in opinion and preference between the three leading systems of Presbyterianism, Prelacy and Independency. He who thinks he can find an exclusive *Jus divinum* in either one of these must have an imagination that infinitely outstrips all scholarship. The Gospel is clear and rigid in its great essentials of doctrine and morals, but marvelously flexible in regard to modes of government, ritual and discipline. The conspicuous end to be ever sought is "the edification of the body of Christ," the method, that "all things be done decently and in order." The paramount aim, therefore, of every Church should be to ascertain what methods in its own time and circumstances may most conduce to the promotion of truth and holiness among its members.

The central principle of the Church of Rome is *power*. It arrogates to itself infallibility and supreme apostolic authority. In carrying out these assumptions, it is a terrible machine, as ingenious, but as heartless and relentless, as a Corliss engine, whose furnace, boiler and throttle lever are in the Vatican, but its belts and wheels and joints and hammers encompass the earth. To win its blessing demands prostration of body and soul at its feet. Its anathema means the torments of the Inquisition, if it has the power. Its forgiveness opens heaven—its condemnation sends to hell. This is its view of discipline.

Protestantism has far different conceptions of the Church's prerogatives and relations to her children. It recognizes indeed a supreme Head of power, but it is only Christ; a supreme law, but only His Word. Gentleness, patience, love, are the conspicuous features of the Church's government. Not the keys of a jailor, but the open door of a home would best symbolize its aspirations—not the stern despot, but the tender parent presides within. It regards the visible organization of the Church as designed for the worship of God; for the public profession of Christ; for the observance of His sacraments, the preaching of His Word, the edification of saints and the conversion of sinners. But it regards the Church also as a hospital, where there are sick ones to be nursed, feeble ones to be strengthened, and wounded ones to be healed; where self-denial, sympathy, forbearance and charity are demanded every hour.

These are views of the Church which Protestantism holds and which she has been learning better and better as her experience has enlarged. Her early years were spent amid the old traditions and customs of Rome and under the alliance of Church and State. There was often a tone of severity in her utterance upon matters of doctrine and discipline. The old sword and battle cry recently used against Rome were too soon turned by Protestants against one another. Accents of denunciation against brethren who differed in non-essentials were often sharp as scorpion-stings. Many of the old reformers and divines startle us by language against other Christians which none of us would dare to use. A better heart now dwells in the Church of Christ. Broader sympathies are cherished. A more just and generous liberty of opinion and conscience is allowed between the several branches of the Church of God.

All this has had, and should have, its influence on matters of Church discipline, in regard to its mode and extent. It induces a more candid survey of the whole field. Every age has its peculiar phases of error and imperfection. The prevailing sins of one period may differ widely from those of another period. The alternative of bowing to an idol or going to the stake does not endanger the fidelity of our members as it did that of the early Christians; nor have we the Balaamites of Pergamos or the Jezebel of Thyatira to contend with. Even some of the peculiar offenses of two or three generations ago do not prevail as openly and largely now as they did then. Practical religion is probably as favorably represented in this time as in any modern period. There is more activity in Christian work and more liberality in giving. There are broader views of the scope of Christianity. The Redeemer's last command to "go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature" has a response from the Church's heart and resources as never before since apostolic days. A perishing world receives more sympathy. Christian ethics in their universal application are better understood. Books of private devotion were never so numerous published and read as now, and God's Word was never before studied so widely and so well.

Yet, notwithstanding all these favorable aspects, there are many evils and short-comings which meet every observant eye. There is on the part of many professed Christians a spirit of audacious speculation on religious themes, which subordinates the declarations of Scripture to the conceits of a mere human sentimentality. There is a growing neglect of worship in the sanctuary on the part of Church members, accompanied with a general disregard of the sacredness of the Sabbath. There is a wide deficiency of parental duty in respect of religious instruction and family worship; and

there are innumerable other ways in which the honor of Christianity is deeply wounded in the house of her professed friends. Thus it is a day whose "light is neither clear nor dark." The watchman might say of the outlook on the one side, "The morning cometh," but on the other side, "also the night."

But apart from any peculiarities of offense in this or any preceding age, there are ever present the eternal antagonisms of truth and error, of righteousness and unrighteousness, of Christ and Belial. There is always in human breasts an evil heart of unbelief which inclines to depart from the living God, and around every sanctuary floats an atmosphere of the "corruption that is in the world through lust." The Church is marching always through an unfriendly land, where the exhalations of sin are continually poisoning some of her children, and the emissaries of Satan are enticing others to deny the Lord that bought them. Thus there are always some that are sick, and some that are astray, and some of whom we must "tell even with weeping that they are the enemies of the Cross of Christ."

In the midst of this ever-recurring scene of imperfection and inconsistency, the great practical question is: How can the Church best foster that which is good, and eliminate that which is evil? What discipline will be best for the health of her members and the honor of her Lord?

In attempting some form of a reply, I shall speak of this subject not as it relates to accused ministers, or aspects of doctrine, but as it pertains to private members and features of practical life. Neither shall I attempt prescriptions in detail for the vast variety of cases which occur, each of which must be left to the discretion of those under whose supervision it may come, who must be governed by general principles, applied according to their own judgment, aided by the grace of God.

A proper view of Church discipline contemplates matters which *precede* a confession of Christ as well as those which follow it. Therefore, the first consideration which I present has respect to the *duty which a Church owes to her prospective members before she admits them to her communion.*

The wisdom of a broad human experience is concentrated in the homely maxim, "Prevention is better than cure." The Church might save herself many a sad case of discipline if she were more explicit and faithful in training those who are to become her communicants. The nature and demands of a true Christian life ought to be set forth so clearly and frequently, that every person considering the duty of confessing Christ should understand distinctly the import of such an act. If that act shall be regarded as a mere formality, the subsequent life will be a poor formality too. But if the need of spiritual

regeneration, of godly sorrow for sin, of living faith in Christ, of absolute submission to Him and of following His footsteps, be strongly emphasized—if the evidences of true conversion be often exhibited—such education will have a fine effect in training those who desire to enter the Church's communion and in strengthening those who are already within.

This was the great Teacher's method. Never did He present the terms of discipleship with such startling rigor as when great multitudes showed signs of following Him, or when some impulsive enthusiast proposed to become His disciple. Then the sweet "Come unto Me" and "Follow Me" were changed, for the time, into the imperative demand to "forsake all," to "hate father and mother and one's own life also;" then He told of the folly of beginning to build without counting the cost; or of going to war without sufficient strength. All these startling considerations He planted around the strait gate and bade men enter on these terms or not at all. If they sincerely accepted these conditions then welcome to His love, His joy and His all-sufficient grace. Then His hand, His heart and His kingdom were theirs. The results you know. Many a promising volunteer went away sorrowful. Many were offended. Many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him, and the faithful followers remained to the last a "little flock."

There is a lesson here for the leaders of the Church still. Not that our invitations should be less warm, or that the attractions of Christ and His Church should be overshadowed by a frown, but the most faithful candor should be displayed. In order that Christ and His Church may be thoroughly enjoyed and honored, let them be thoroughly understood by every one who enlists. Let the mind and heart rise to the full height of the great transaction, that loyalty from the first moment may be intelligent and sincere. An inward fortification against inconsistency will thus be erected, which will be far better than any number of external walls and bulwarks.

We all know only too well that there are many temptations and habits which are sadly out of harmony with such methods. There is abroad in the land not only the voice of him who in a Christian pulpit prophesies to sinners only smooth things, and weak things, and un-Christly things, from a heart that never "knew the grace of God in truth;" but there is also in better hearts an insatiate craving for popularity, for the fame of success, for the premium of numbers; and so the narrow gate is thrown down and crowds rush into the church to be registered on its books and to be heralded through the press as proofs of great prosperity. No wonder that many of them bring forth no fruits of that grace which they never had; no wonder that many of them soon stray

away never to be heard of again; no wonder that of many who remain, the Church should have so much occasion to consider what discipline she should adopt towards members whom she so rashly drew into her courts.

We know indeed that with the most faithful ministrations and wise precautions there will always be some tares among the wheat; but that is no apology for the deliberate sowing of tares, nor will it be any mitigation of the sorrow when the woeful harvest reveals the tares in such overwhelming numbers. Amid all the imperfect results of our very best services, it is to every faithful pastor a source of great comfort, that if some of his ingathering prove false, it is in spite of his fidelity and not for want of it.

In the course of the Church's watch and care of her members, which include every department of discipline, there are certain principles worthy of constant regard. One of these is that *the clear teachings of the Word of God should be made in every case the supreme and only test of right and wrong*. Men are too fond of making their own laws for other people's opinions and conduct. Custom, prejudice, fanaticism and bigotry have usurped a lordship over conscience which belongs to God alone. Many amusements, innocent and proper in themselves, have been made accursed without the slightest sanction from reason or revelation. Many a true Christian has been condemned by others for matters which his own heart and the Word of God did not condemn. In every such case, a conflict is inevitable. The censured person revolts against what he regards as an arbitrary and cruel tyranny. He appeals from man to God and thinks his appeal is sustained. The moral power of the Church in such a case is utterly lost. It is sometimes claimed that every particular church has a right to fix its own terms of admission, and that persons who are not willing to walk according to this rule, must seek church fellowship elsewhere. Therefore extra pledges are exacted in regard to temperance, amusements or other things. But we question very seriously the right of any church to devise any such tests as involve doubtful interpretations of specific duties. If men choose to make severe rules for themselves let them do so, but let them not make bars of disputed theories to exclude from Christ's Church others as conscientious as themselves, but who deny some of their self-made ascetic laws. The only essential and Scriptural terms of church fellowship are confessed repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and obedience to the Divine Word.

Another principle ever to be regarded is, *that church officers are not required to search for the faults of members*. Pastors and elders are overseers, not inquisitors. That which comes before them demands their notice, but suspicion and espionage are no part of

their commission. The Christian duty to think evil of no man without cause is especially incumbent on those who are ensamples to the flock. There is enough wrong and imperfection "before Israel and the sun" without seeking for more. It is always well to search our own hearts and lives with a passover candle, but it is not wise to force ourselves into our neighbor's house to find if possible a little particle of leaven there. Whatever evils God's providence brings before us, let us consider—the rest let us leave to God's own judgment; at best we can only look at the outward appearance, God alone seeth the heart.

Another principle to be regarded in dealing with the imperfections of Christians, is *the need of that wisdom which is gentle, patient, sympathetic and which knows how to discriminate*. The varieties of human character appear nowhere more marked than in the religious life. Weakness or strength of will, nervous affections, conditions of bodily health, all the varieties of physical or mental endowments, will in some way affect the spiritual life. All these things need to be taken into generous consideration in estimating the culpability of those who seem faulty in their religious career. The same apostolic sentence which bids us "warn the unruly," also bids us "comfort the feeble minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men." Nothing can be more unjust and un-Christ-like than the spirit which is ever ready to condemn with bitterness the stumbling pilgrim, regardless of the roughness of the way and the weakness of the limbs. If the great Master were as hard with His disciples, as they sometimes are with one another, it would go badly with every one of us. Our hope is in His mercy, in His marvelous patience. Nothing but His gentleness can ever make us great. This same leniency should the Church extend to all whom her Lord receives. Many a penitent Peter goes out and weeps bitterly over the effect of some sudden temptation when no eye but his Master's sees him. Many a possessor of quick temper has not only dishonored himself before others by its ungovernable flash, but has also gone down into the dust of a deep contrition before God, pleading for mercy and more grace. Therefore, at the beginning of any process of investigation, in such cases let the sentiment of a gentle caution prevent the breaking of a bruised reed and the quenching of smoking flax. All the circumstances of declension or transgression need to be carefully studied, and the Church, with a mother's love and a physician's skill, should administer that remedy which may best promise the restoration of health. In many of these matters we walk on very delicate ground. We are dealing with mysteries of the spiritual life, when we only see through a glass darkly. We may condemn where God only pities. We may almost forget that Feeble-Mind

and Ready-to-Halt and Little-Faith are as truly on the King's highway as Great-Heart, the hero, and Faithful, the martyr; and that through the grace of the patient and gentle Saviour, they too shall enter through the gate into the city. It is in such cases that we need to give the more earnest heed to those inspired words: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted."

But amid all these considerations there is another principle which the Church must always maintain with uncompromising fidelity, viz.: *The supreme importance of holiness in heart and life.* With all her gentleness she may never lower her standard. To the feeble, as to the strong, to the unfaithful, as to the faithful, there is the same Decalogue, the same Sermon on the Mount, the same example of Jesus, the same terms of discipleship. No pity nor tenderness may disguise duty, or make it seem "as if sin were sin no longer." Whatever may be the infirmities and strugglings of the inward life, there is an outward walk and conversation which *can* be and *must* be maintained. There are inconsistencies which can by no means be assigned to the sympathetic department of mere infirmity. There are willful and persistent violations of holy vows, neglect of ordinances, deeds of wrong, words of impurity and profanity, crimes of intemperance, whether in personal use or traffic, in a word, all those features of "offensive lives" which are enumerated in our "Form for the administration of the Lord's Supper," and which may be neither ignored nor condoned. Something positive must be done against these, if the Church would regard the honor of her Lord or of herself—the welfare of the transgressor or of those who behold his transgressions. The highest interests demand that members either cease from such willful sins or that they cease from their relations to the Church of God. To such things no place should be given by subjection; no, not for an hour.

But there is need of great prudence in the actual process of discipline in such cases lest the evil should be made worse. Many a bitter quarrel, many an alienation of families and friends from the Church, many an incurable disaster to the spiritual welfare of multitudes and to every department of a Church's prosperity has come from a wrong spirit and wrong method in the process of discipline. In almost every instance it is wise that a private and personal interview be held with the offender. Sometimes it may be better that a prudent elder go first rather than a minister, but whoever goes, whether elder or pastor, or both, let it be with the spirit of prayer for grace, with sorrow, with kindness and without bitterness. Let it be manifest that the reprover is still a friend, seeking the welfare

of the transgressor. In most cases a kind, faithful, persevering labor of this kind will accomplish its end, at least if there be any real grace in the offender's heart. To the arguments of such faithfulness that grace will eventually respond. There may be a stubborn silence for a while, but there will also be the agony of "broken bones" that will at last compel the cry for mercy, for the blotting out of iniquities, and for restoration to the joy of God's salvation. With a real child of God, who has once tasted the love of Christ, we believe that such treatment will never fail to bring a wanderer back to the Father's house.

But what if there be no grace, no repentance, no desire to return? What if other and farther measures must be taken? What shall they be? Shall the officers of the church, pastor and elders, array themselves in judicial robes, and sit as an august court of justice in the case? Shall witnesses be examined and cross-examined—laws expounded—debates held—verdict rendered and sentence pronounced? Sometimes it must be so. But it is always a painful sight; so painful, so different from the Church's usual aspect as the instrumental saviour, helper and comforter of men, that we think every tender Christian heart shrinks from the terrible necessity and prays that it may rarely occur. This brings us into the presence of one of the most perplexing and painful problems of a pastor's experience. There are so many cases where members are in a church who ought not to be there, whom the church does not want in and who themselves do not desire to be in. Some came in by mistake. In an hour of emotional excitement, or by the overpersuasion of some unwise friend or pastor, they became communicants, when they were not converted. They soon discovered their mistake. They were distressed. They felt themselves to be in a false position. They wished to retreat from it, but there was no way. They are sincere, conscientious, unhappy and helpless. There is another class who, after years of respectable external discipleship, have lost all interest in religious matters. Theirs was the seed among thorns. It has been choked. They have practically left the Church. They do not want to be counted among her members, and it would be far better that they should not be. Yet if they were formally cited for trial and all the technicality of a process should be begun, they would probably resent it and contest the case. Partisans would be enlisted on their side. The Church would be disturbed and divided and beyond the local contest, a vista of possible appeals would reveal expanding terrors, until the whole denomination, in its successive courts, was enlisted in the fray. It is a fearful prospect, and the pastor who has had one experience of it, will scarcely have heart ever to venture on another.

No one who has conversed much with our pastors on this subject

can have failed to observe the sense of painful embarrassment which many of them have on the matter of discipline. In order to ascertain, to some extent, the present condition of discipline in our churches, and the sentiments of some of the brethren, I addressed some inquiries to a number of pastors, to which about sixty responses have been given. The result thus obtained illustrates the following facts: (a) There is a general attention to Church discipline in its primary and informal character, by personal visitation and conference with delinquent members; (b) There is very little beyond this point in the way of formal action leading to suspension, and nothing whatever resulting in excommunication, except in mission churches; (c) There is strong complaint against the difficulties in our constitutional mode of procedure, on account of the unwillingness of witnesses to testify, adverse public sentiment in the church, extended family relationships, the possibility of appeals resulting in reversal of consistorial action on technical grounds, and the conviction that in most cases this course of judicial action does more harm than good. The consequence of all this is that there are multitudes of members who are hurtful encumbrances on the churches' register, but nothing is done towards their removal because so much needs to be done through a complicated, protracted and uncertain process. Consequently, many a church groans beneath the burden of numerous bodies of death, until death itself comes to its relief.

It may justly be said that the elaborate details of judicial procedure prescribed in the constitution are intended to protect the rights of an accused person; and all must admit the propriety of such an object, and the necessity in such trials of all the safeguards thrown around the accused, that he may not become the victim of baseless suspicion or idle rumor. But the question may arise, Could not the ends of justice, with better satisfaction to all parties concerned, be sometimes secured in an easier and more peaceful way? It is not the province of this paper to devise any new legislation, but the subject before us seems to demand a few tentative questions and suggestions which may not be unworthy of careful and dispassionate reflection. Allow me, therefore, very deferentially, to present two questions: First, May there not be an advantage, in the trial of a private member (except in a case of heresy), in *limiting the right of appeal from the decision of a consistory to the next higher court, the classis*? This would prevent that weary prolongation of trial which under the present system by successive appeals and possible reversal of action, or by sending a case back on technical points for retrial, may keep a church in distress for years, with incurable injury in the end. The classis, on account of its proximity, would have the best means of understanding all the merits of a case,

and would have special interest in securing a wise decision, for the welfare of one of its own churches. With a limitation of appeal to this body, a consistory would be encouraged to go forward in a case of needed discipline, when it would refuse to take the risk of two more appeals, to be tried, perhaps, in a remote part of the land, and running through so much time. If a consistory and a classis are not sufficiently competent and trustworthy to deal wisely and justly with an offending church member, the question may well be asked, What is the use of any such bodies at all?

The second question which I wish to propose is this, viz.: Might it not promote the peace, purity, and welfare of the churches, if a certain discretionary power were confided to a consistory, to release certain members from their church relations without the formalities of trial by process? The separation of a member from the Church has two principal objects, viz., to withhold from him the privileges of the communion table, and to relieve the Church of all responsibility for his conduct.

There are cases where both these results might be secured peaceably and with full consent of the unworthy members themselves. Those members know that they are in a false position in the Church. They know that they are not Christians. They have no spiritual interest in religious things. They wish they were released. They fret against the bars. Their very bondage makes them impatient of advice, and far less susceptible to good impressions than if they were at liberty. After pastor and elders have done all they can for such persons in vain, and they still desire to be released, why should they not be? Surely Christ wants no unwilling communicants chained to His table. If the heart be not there, why should Church officers try to chain the body there? Why should not the same authority which received them into the communion of the Church, also be authorized to withdraw from them that privilege, when that seems advisable, in a way just as solemn, as when they were received and with no more formality. It would indeed have the contrast of sorrow against joy, but if it were done in a tender spirit, and in a peaceful way, its influence on the offender would promise far better results than if the separation came after a trial, with charges and witnesses, kindling in his mind a temper of resistance and wrath. That which can be gained peacefully should never be sought through strife, and that which can be done easily should never be burdened with needless difficulties. If a wayward son is desirous to leave his father's house, it is better, after tender remonstrances have failed, that the father should let him go in peace, rather than to drive him forth by forms of law. It will facilitate his repentance and perhaps bring him back the sooner, in a proper mind to implore a remission.

There is a consideration of grave importance, barely alluded to a few moments ago, but worthy of a more serious notice. It is the danger of wounding the innocent, and creating woeful strifes and divisions by a course of public trial and condemnation. The unfaithful member has often faithful relatives and friends in the Church, and many of them. They may be praying parents, or a godly wife or children just entering on the service of Christ. They may admit his faults with tears, but they are hoping that, by patience and love, he may yet be restored to the path of duty. At all events, they dread the shame of a public trial and condemnation. They fear that it will hopelessly embitter him against the Church. They know it will be a sword thrust through their own souls also. They dread the necessity of being compelled openly to take sides either against their loved one or their Church. They will acquiesce, if need be, in the Church's release from all responsibility for his unfaithfulness, but they beg that it be done so kindly and gently that his heart may be constrained to approve the act, and that their sad hearts may receive no unnecessary wounds.

By the adoption of such a method the pathway of pastors and elders would be cleared of much unnecessary embarrassment, the treatment of unworthy members would be simplified, the churches would be relieved from the baneful encumbrance of much material that is not only dead but poisonous, and we think the normal idea of Church government would be more nearly realized as not like a military regime, or even civil court, but an administration of parental faithfulness and love.

Nor need we be afraid to trust our churches in these matters. They have to-day as competent and faithful pastors and elders as they ever had; men as worthy of being trusted in Christian responsibilities, men who understand the interests of the churches committed to their care; men of wisdom, sympathy, love and justice. If in any case of particular difficulty they need advice, the classis to which they belong embraces a sufficient number and variety of minds to guarantee all that the claims of prudence and righteousness may require. May it not be that a larger liberty, wider prerogatives and less demands of formality in this primary court of the Church would secure a better discipline and thus a purer communion? We like our ecclesiastical system. We believe that in its essential features there is nothing better beneath the sun. Yet it may be possible, that the ever-growing experience of the Church may suggest some improvements, which would promote the Church's efficiency and health. This is my apology for the questions and suggestions which I have ventured to propose.

It is a sublime mission entrusted to mortal men to vindicate the

honor of Jesus Christ in His Church and to train the heirs of glory. The priceless treasure is committed to earthen vessels. The imperfect guide and govern the imperfect. Men of like passions with others watch, teach and rebuke their brethren. Their eyes can see only the outward appearance, the heart is beyond their ken. They observe the temptations that triumph, they see not those that are vanquished.

Yet as far as we can, and as well as we can, we must be faithful to our Lord and to the souls committed to our care. If our best efforts result only in approximations towards a pure and perfect Church, let us press those approximations as close as we can towards the bright ideal. Let us set before the weakest as well as the strongest the standard of the image of the Son of God. Let us ever urge them upward towards the mark of the prize of their high calling, by denying self and overcoming the world. Pity for the sinful must never be perverted into approval of sin. Amid all our ignorance of hidden character, there ever stands before us that great pillar of truth, with its two-sided inscription: "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, 'The Lord knoweth them that are his.'" There is the security of the Divine omniscience. And on the other side we read, "Let them that name the name of Christ depart from iniquity." There is the rule of human judgment. The former gives unfailing comfort; the latter calls to unfaltering duty. Let us rebuke open sin with a prophet's faithfulness. While of some we "have compassion making a difference," others let us "save with fear, pulling them out of the fire, hating even the garment spotted by the flesh." But after we have done our utmost in separating the precious from the vile, there will always remain, according to the Master's great parable, the tares which so nearly resemble the wheat that nothing but the time of harvest can infallibly distinguish them. Eager disciples, prematurely trying to pluck them up, may sometimes pull up the wheat also with them. In all doubtful cases, it is best to wait until the angel-reapers come. At last Christ Himself will set all things right. The Church so precious yet so imperfect here; this Church whose faults cost us so much labor, anxiety and grief; this Church which we, in our brief day, are trying to train, to strengthen, to purify, yet often with such poor success; *this* Church shall at last be delivered from all her deformities, shall be perfectly sanctified by her great Bridegroom, "that He may present her to Himself a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing."

J. ROMEYN BERRY.

RHINEBECK, NEW YORK.

III.

THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

I APPEND, at the outset of this article, a few passages of Scripture bearing upon this subject, and also chapter xii of the Confession of Faith, on "Adoption."

"Our Father which art in Heaven" (Matt. vi, 9); "Call no man your Father upon the earth, for One is your Father which is in Heaven" (Matt. xxiii, 9); "But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name" (John, i, 12, 13); "God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons; and because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father. Therefore thou art no more a servant, but a son, and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ" (Gal. iv, 4-7); "Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will" (Eph. i, 5); "Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God" (1 John, iii, 1); "Beloved, now are we the sons of God" (1 John, iii, 2); "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God; and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together" (Rom. viii, 14-17). "Whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first born among many brethren" (Rom. viii, 29). These passages will suffice to show that the doctrine of Adoption is a Scriptural doctrine.

Confession of Faith, chap. xii: "All those that are justified, God vouchsafeth, in and for His only Son, Jesus Christ, to make partakers of the grace of adoption: by which they are taken into the number, and enjoy the liberties and privileges of the children of God; have His name put upon them, receive the Spirit of

adoption; have access to the throne of grace with boldness; are enabled to cry *Abba, Father*; are pitied, protected, provided for and chastened by Him as by a father; yet never cast off, but sealed to the day of redemption, and inherit the promises, as heirs of everlasting salvation." To the same purport is the answer to the seventy-fourth question in the Larger Catechism, and that to the thirty-fourth question in the Shorter Catechism.

The notion of the "All-Fatherhood" of God is widely prevalent in our day. It is claimed and urged with great insistence and confidence that God is the Father of men, of all men, of all men as they are, in their sins, enmity, depravity and rebellion; that idolators, drunkards, licentious men and women, atheists, skeptics, and all unbelievers and despisers of Christ, as well as all true Christians—all this apostate race—are the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty, and that He is their true, real, actual and acting Father. That the brotherhood of man is universal, all admit; but that the sonship to God of man, of the race, is equally universal and true, will not be admitted without a challenge and without proof. It is by no means a clear case that man's first father is not Adam, but God, for we know that the first father hath sinned and we have borne his iniquities.

The view against which this article contends is fairly and squarely and fully stated by Dr. Phillips Brooks, of Boston, in his volume entitled "*The Influence of Jesus*." It pervades the work throughout. A few sentences will abundantly indicate his teaching: "The inspiring idea (of that influence) is the Fatherhood of God and the childhood of every man to Him. Upon the race and upon the individual, Jesus is always bringing into more and more perfect revelation the certain truth that man, and every man, is the child of God. . . . Jesus came to restore the fact of God's Fatherhood to man's knowledge, and to its central place of power over man's life. . . . He is the Redeemer of man into the Fatherhood of God" (p. 12). "I have already said what that idea is—the relation of childhood and Fatherhood between man and God. Man is the child of God by nature. He is ignorant and rebellious—the prodigal child of God; but his ignorance and rebellion never break that first relationship. It is always a child ignorant of his Father; always a child rebellious against his Father" (pp. 13, 14). That man is the child of God "includes the notions of a common nature between the Father and the son, of a spontaneous affection of the Father, of an essential obligation of the son, and of a possibility of the son's unlimited growth into the Father's likeness" (p. 15). "He (Jesus) must have become aware that all men were God's sons, and felt the desire to tell them so . . . just in proportion as he came

to know . . . the deep and absorbing mystery that He Himself was the Son of God" (pp. 17, 18). "Surely we cannot be wrong if we say positively that to Christ Himself the truth that man was God's child by nature was the great fact of man's existence" (p. 20). This doctrine of man's "own essential sonship" (p. 52) is the underlying and formative doctrine of Dr. Brooks' entire volume.

I think I may say without contradiction that this is not the doctrine of the Church of God. Such an idea cannot be found in any creed of Christendom, from that of Nice to that of Westminster. Neither the Greek nor the Roman nor the Protestant churches have ever affirmed it, but they either directly, or by implication, deny it. Seventeen centuries of Bible reading and study failed to discover this tremendous thing. It is a novelty in theology and in anthropology. One thing appears clear to me, viz.: that if God is the Father, in any true and substantial sense, the real Father of our race; if the world—as it has existed in history, as it is described in the first chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, as it is manifested to-day—is the household and family of God, it is the most extensively unfilial, disobedient, rebellious, parent-hating, marvellously ill-brought-up family that can be conceived of. Especially emphatic is this when we consider that the alleged Parental head of this family is all-wise, all-good, all-powerful. Yet, such a family! If a man were the father of ten children and their hearts were as one heart, a heart of enmity against him, neither subject to his laws nor capable of subjection to them; if their alliances and associations were with those whose hostility was most bitter against him, one thing is certain, he would not be very active in revealing and proclaiming his paternity or their sonship. The verdict against his parental authority, wisdom and love, would be unanimous and decisive. And if the children proclaimed it, and he was a useful and respected member of society, they would not be believed in what they declared.

There are but two ways in which any being can be, truly and properly, the son of another, and these are: 1st, by *generation*; 2d, by *adoption*.

Children, sons and daughters, are not *created* such. They are either begotten or adopted. Creation is not Paternity. A Creator is not a Father because He is a Creator. If He is, then the Holy Spirit, who came upon the virgin Mary and overshadowed her, would be the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, an idea utterly foreign to the Scripture. He *created* in her, of her substance, "that holy thing," Christ's human nature, but He did not *beget* it. Had He in some ineffable manner, begotten it, He would then be properly called Christ's Father as to His human nature. But, seeing

that His work was a work of creation and formation, and not of generation, He is never called the Father of our Lord, though He was the Creative Author of His humanity.

Paternity belongs to only one of the Persons of the sacred Trinity and He is called, on this account, "The Father." Neither the Son nor the Spirit are properly so designated; and the First Person is called "The Father" because he has one Son, begotten, eternally begotten or generated, His own, His only, His dearly beloved Son; and He has no other. If He had, there would be four Persons in the Godhead. For in generation or begetting there is always similitude and sameness of nature implied. A human father begets a son in *human* nature, similar to and of the same substance with himself. Neither an angel nor a brute could be a true and proper, a begotten child of a human being. The son born to him must be of the same nature with him. In all forms and kinds of generation, the regnant law is, that "like produces like." The animal creation is a universal witness to this, and so is the vegetable world. If Adam had been generated or begotten of God the Father, he would have been His true son, of the same nature with God, and so, as I said, a fourth Person in the Godhead.

Jesus Christ, the Logos, who was in the beginning with God and was God, the Second Person in the Trinity, is a true and proper Son of the First, because He was in eternity and from eternity, out of time and out of space, ineffably and mysteriously, but really and divinely, begotten of and consubstantial with the Father. Hence His sublime name, The Son of God. He is styled God's one, God's only, God's own, God's only begotten, God's well beloved Son; and is declared to be in the form of God, equal with God, the express image of His Father. He is the Son of the Father, one with Him in nature, essence, substance, possessing all the properties and attributes of that nature; also having Divine rights, names, prerogatives, being the Heir of God, co-possessor of the majesty, dominion, and glory of the Father. The First Person of the Trinity is denominated *Father*, not because of His relation to any or to all creatures, but because of His relation to Christ before men, angels or creatures existed. And so the Second Person is denominated Son, not because of any relation formed in time, but because of His eternal relation to the First Person. An eternal Father necessarily implies an eternal Son. So God the Father is truly and properly the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Lord Jesus Christ is truly and properly the Son of God.

This is the primary, original, and fundamental import of the terms Father and Son. They involve generation or a begetting, as distinguished from creation, with likeness and sameness of nature.

They also involve essential and necessary interrelationship, with the peculiar affections implied in Paternity and Filiation. Both ideas must coëxist. Eve was of the same substance with Adam, but Eve was not begotten or generated by Adam and therefore she is never called the daughter of Adam.

Other uses of the terms Father and Son abound in Scripture, in literature, and in common speech, but they are always metaphorical. Thus Christ Himself is called the Son of God from his miraculous conception, from His mission, resurrection, ascension and enthronement, and all of these uses of the words have their foundation and justification in the primal and essential Sonship which existed in Him from eternity. So Adam is called the Son of God in Luke's genealogy, not because he was generated or begotten of God, as Seth was of Adam, not because he was of the same nature with God, but because in the relations actually existing between Adam and God there was such a sphere and range for Divine dealings with His dependent, finite creature as would not be improperly expressed by terms and forms of speech derived from the more profound and enduring relations between Himself and His eternal Son. Adam was the direct creation of Divine Power and is explicitly so described in the Bible, and the relations constituted between God and him were not those of parent and child, but those of Creator and creature, Supporter and dependent, Preserver and preserved, Ruler and subject, Benefactor and beneficiary, Friend and friend; and these relations were enhanced by a special covenant engagement. There are points of resemblance between the relations, spirit, and acts growing out of Paternity and Filiation, and those that spring from creation, beneficence and service; and hence some of the forms of speech properly applied to the former may be accommodated to the latter. But we must be careful not to be misled by such accommodations and to infer from what are figures of speech the actual things from which those figures are taken. Thus *angels*, who are simply *creatures* are called the *Sons of God*. Thus magistrates are called *Gods* and princes the *Sons of God*. Thus Jabal is styled the *father* of such as play on harps and Jubal the *father* of such as dwell in tents. Hiram was called the *father* of the king of Tyre and also the *father* of Solomon. The younger prophets were called the *sons* of the elder prophets. Job says, I was a *father* to the poor. Joseph says that God had made him a *father* to Pharaoh. Paul says, I have begotten you in the gospel, and that Timothy was his own son in the faith. Christians are called the *children* of the Resurrection, and God is spoken of as the Father of the rain, and the Begetter of the dew. In common speech we say, Washington was the *father* of his country. In these and a thousand other examples the language

is metaphorical not literal, figurative not dogmatic; and is easily appreciated as such. It expresses, by way of allusion, certain similitudes or likenesses of a relation, but not the actual relation itself. So that in the proper, primal, radical and formal sense, the Fatherhood of God is limited to a single Son, begotten before all worlds and dwelling from eternity in His Bosom. All other beings, if denominated Sons, are such by metonymy. Angels and men are not naturally Sons, but creatures in certain relations to One whose eternal character is Love and whose eternal relations to Christ are Paternal. So that He who is God the Father may be spoken of in His relations to His creatures as manifesting acts and affections that are popularly and figuratively called Paternal to those who are not truly and properly Sons. Max Muller says, "Mythology is a disease of language; that is to say, it is produced by the power of language on the mind in causing it to mistake words for things, metaphors for facts." And so there may be a like disease in theology.

I said that there was another way than that of generation in which a person might be a real, living, true, and everlasting Son of God and God be truly and properly his Father, and that this is by Adoption. As the all-Fatherhood of God cannot be established in the first of these two methods, neither can it be established in the second. As all men are not by nature the children of God, so all men are not His children by adoption. The Larger Catechism declares adoption to be an "Act of the free grace of God, in and for the sake of His only Son Jesus Christ, whereby all that are justified are received into the number of His children, have His name put upon them, the Spirit of His Son given to them, are under His fatherly care and dispensation, and admitted to all the liberties and privileges of the Sons of God, made heirs of all the promises and fellow heirs with Christ in glory." It is simply preposterous to say that in this sense God is the universal Father and all men alike His children: and if not in this sense then in no sense worthy of the name can such a relation be said to exist.

The writers of the New Testament who instruct us on this subject take the forms of their expression from the then prevalent Roman law concerning adoption. And the Holy Spirit uses them as His agents in revealing the doctrine, and so by this human law elevates us to the knowledge of Divine relation and acts of the sublimest. The following are the main points in the Roman code which illustrate this matter.*

1. The person adopted must be actually and of his own right of another family than that whereinto he is adopted.

* Taken from Owen, Gould's ed., ii, 207-8. See Froude's *Cæsar*, pp. 206-7.

2. There must be a family unto which, of himself, he hath no right, whereinto he is to be grafted. If a man comes into a family upon a *personal* right, though originally at never so great a distance, that man is not adopted. If a man of most remote consanguinity do come into the inheritance of any family by the death of the nearer heirs, though his right before was little better than nothing, yet he is a born son of that family; he is not adopted. In adoption he is not to have the plea of the most remote possibility of succession.

3. There must be an *authoritative legal* translation from one family into another. The mere desire and pleasure of the person to adopt another could not affect the result. The supreme power must consent to and *authorize* it.

4. That the adopted person be freed from all the obligations that are upon him unto the family from whence he is translated; otherwise he can be no way useful or serviceable unto the family whereinto he is ingrafted. He cannot serve two masters, much less *two fathers*.

5. That by virtue of his adoption, he be invested with all the rights, privileges, advantages, and title to the whole inheritance, of the family into which he is adopted, in as full and ample a manner as if he had been a born son therein.

Such in general were the ideas on the subject of adoption in the minds of those to whom the apostles wrote, and they could not but adapt them to the teachings they received in regard to the Divine relations and acts to which they were applied. The expressions would be meaningless to them unless this were so.

1. In the first place, it is evident that mankind do not by nature belong to the Divine household. That family, in the just and proper sense of the word, is otherwise composed. The original and proper Paternity of God revealed in the Bible is, as we have seen, in connection with the Lord Jesus Christ. He is the one, the only, the coëqual, and coëternal Son of the Divine Father. The loftiest intelligences are at an infinite remove from any such relationship. And to this Divine family of the eternal Father and Son belongs the Holy Spirit, not as a second Son, but as the *vinculum Trinitatis*, the bond of the Father and the Son, called in the Scripture "the Spirit of the Father," and "the Spirit of the Son," one and the same Spirit of and with the other twain. To this Divine household of the Father, Son, and Spirit, it is self-evident we do not belong by nature. Herein we have no name, nor right, nor title, nor inheritance.

Then we do belong to another family. As men, as physical, intellectual and moral beings, we are all by nature the children of

Adam. He is our first father, the generative head and source of the whole human race, the family of man. We are his posterity by ordinary generation. The race is a unit in him. They are of one blood from and with him, seminally and germinally descended from him. He is our natural and proper parent. He is, and He only is, the All-Father of mankind.

Then, as the procreation and propagation of the race began after Adam fell, not only are we one with him as to our essential human nature, but we are likewise *begotten* in his image and likeness as *fallen*, even as he was *created* in the image and likeness of God as *upright*. We are not only *born* spiritually dead, but we are conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity and are by nature the children of wrath. We sinned in and fell with him. We were made sinful and sinners by his disobedience. We *inherit* sin and wrath and condemnation. In respect to our original and native family connection, we are as far as possible removed from the family of God. Neither physically, nor intellectually, nor morally, nor spiritually have we the most remote kinship to God as our Father.

Yea, and more. The Bible allies Adam and all his posterity by ordinary generation to another family, attributes to them another parentage. It is needless, for the purpose I have in view, to expound and justify by criticism the language of the Scripture on this point, but I will simply quote a few familiar passages by which it will be made palpably clear that the first condition essential to a Divine adoption is most abundantly vindicated. The Pharisees claimed that they "had Abraham to their father," and, after the manner of many now, they further claimed, "We have one Father, even God." Our Lord, conceding their natural parentage from Abraham, denied any higher relation to him and said: "If ye were Abraham's children ye would do the works of Abraham," and added, "If God were your Father ye would love Me." But ye belong to a different family: "Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." So, in the parable of the tares, He says: "The tares are the children of the wicked one." Paul styled Elymas, "Thou child of the devil." And John says: "He that committeth sin is of the devil," and, "In this are manifested the children of the devil."

If it is urged here that this is a metaphorical and not a literal use of the terms, because a man cannot properly and truly be said to have two fathers, I answer: (1) I do not dispute this, but fully concede it. But then, the objection cannot be urged by those who hold to the All-Fatherhood of God, for this makes each and every man to have two all-fathers, Adam and God. This was the plea of the Pharisees. As Jews, they claimed Abraham and God to be

their fathers. Christ took them up on their own ground and said, that while indeed they were the natural and proper children of Abraham, yet in the sense they called God their Father they were mistaken. In that sense, the devil, and not God, was their father. And (2) I answer: We must here, as in all other metaphorical uses of the words *father* and *children* in the Bible, discover the truth that underlies the metaphor. And I need only say, that when the expressions are so precise and emphatic, and are designed to convey most solemn and tremendous truth, as they are in these quotations, we must, at least, interpret them so as to exclude and deny the real and literal Fatherhood of God and the natural sonship to Him of men. The Lord Jesus and the apostles did mean to convey the idea of the most thorough union and communion in spirit, relationship and conduct of the devil and men. With such teachings in the Bible, it is perfectly evident that actually and in our own natural right we belong to another family than that into which we may be adopted.

2. There is a family into which we may be adopted in which we have no rights whatsoever. This is the household and family of the Triune God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. But it is an essential and necessary thing that in all adopting families the parties adopted must be of the *same nature* with the parties adopting. There must be natural affinities between the two families. And hence a stupendous difficulty at once emerges; for Humanity and Divinity are separated by an illimitable and infinite distance. I cannot now fully enlarge upon the manner in which this difficulty is surmounted. It is wholly supernatural and a matter of simple Divine Revelation. Its solution is found in the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Godhead, the eternal and only-begotten Son of the First, His assumption of human nature into personal, vital, indissoluble and everlasting union with Himself, His taking to Himself a true body and a reasonable soul. He took not on Him the nature of angels, and therefore angels cannot be the subjects of adoption; but He did take on Him the seed of Abraham, so that human beings can be. The Son of God, the eternal Word who was in the beginning with God and was God, the Creator of all things, was made flesh and dwelt among us. He was Immanuel, God with us, very God of very God, and very man. God sent forth His Son *made of a woman*, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the *adoption* of sons, and so become the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ the Incarnate God. It is because the only-begotten Son of God became a true and genuine man that He is the first born among many *brethren*, the *elder brother*, by a Divine designation, of the human

family. It is because of this, as I said, that not angels, not celestial creatures of any rank or order, but men and only men, can be adopted into the Divine family, and this because He who is in and of and with the Godhead, being truly and properly and perfectly man, has taken Humanity up into the Godhead and has exalted it to the middle place on the Divine throne of the universe. He is the Son of the eternal Father, and He is bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, and one spirit with us. He is the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of His Person, and yet He is not ashamed to call us *brethren*. And hence, when we are united to Him by the Holy Spirit through faith, we are united to Him who is not only truly man but truly God. And being spiritually renewed, born again, begotten of God into His image and likeness, we are thus the true, loved and loving, brothers of Christ, and so we become the proper subjects of adoption into this august, glorious, Divine household; and God the Father beholding us thus closely related to His only and eternal Son, and seeing that Son so bound up with us in the ties of nature and love and life, for His sake and in Him takes us into His fellowship and makes us His sons and heirs, joint heirs with His only-begotten Son. For God has accepted that Son in His *Humanity* and taken Him, with all the scars and insignia of His infinite humiliation, into His Bosom, and has seated Him as a man on His throne, and has committed all rule and authority and judgment to Him, and has commanded all the angels to worship Him as a Lamb that was slain. So that there is a wonderful congruity and concinnity in our adoption into the Divine family. Because through the ineffable mysteries of the Incarnation and Redemption we are the real brothers of the Second Person of the Trinity, we are properly made the sons of the First Person by adoption, and He, when He has thus adopted us, sends the Third Person to impart to us the *filial* instinct and spirit of His only and eternal Son, so that with Him and like Him we can say to the First Person of the adorable Trinity, Abba, Father; that Spirit, at the same time bearing witness with our spirits that we are the children of God. Thus is answered and fulfilled the prayer of our Lord, "that they all may be one; as Thou Father art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us:" explicating and illumining His other words, "the *glory* which Thou gavest Me, I have given them that they may be one even as we are one, I in them, Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in One . . . that the Love wherewith Thou hast loved Me may be in them, and I in them." In conclusion, under this point, let me refer to the language (1) of Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, in his "Knowledge of God Subjectively Considered" (pp. 185, 186), who says: "There is

no conceivable way in which any being, much less a fallen sinner of the human race, can become a son of God in any sense bearing the most distant resemblance to the one I have been pointing out—except by becoming, in the very way declared in the Scriptures, the brother of the Son of God, and by adoption the son of God. . . . Admit that the Son of God has taken our nature—and that by the new birth we are made partakers of His nature: does it not necessarily follow that we are to share, not only *all* His grace, but *all* His glory? Does it not necessarily follow that we are to share with Him His infinite inheritance as the Son of God? Above all, does it not necessarily follow that we shall do all this as absolutely His brothers—as absolutely sons of His Father; and that by His own procurement, and through the boundless love of God, a divine sentence shall award to us in this life, an indefeasible title as sons and heirs, not only to the whole inheritance, but to the actual possession and fruition of the earnest of it, here below?” and (2) of Prof. Godet, in his “Defense of the Christian Faith” (pp. 307, 309, 310), who says: “God became man in One man, in order that by faith in this One all others might be raised into the closest and most direct union with God Himself! . . . The truth is, that by establishing the fact of the Divinity of our Saviour, we gain God Himself for our Brother, and that by our union with this Brother we become fit to share in the state of Deity. . . . There has existed a God-man in order that in Him we all, becoming His brothers by His Incarnation, might be transformed into a family of creatures in whom the Paternal love of God might shine forth in its glory; even in a certain sense a family of God-men. I should not dare to use such an expression, if St. Paul himself had not, in speaking of the Son, written the words, That He might be the First-born among many brethren.”

3. Adoption into the Divine family being thus made possible and practicable in the intimate and personal participation of our nature by the eternal Son of God, and by our vital union with Him in regeneration, the next thing to be remarked is, that when the gracious act of adoption takes place, it is the authoritative and decisive act of the Eternal Father as the Supreme, Sovereign Law-giver and Arbiter of the Universe. As God is just when He justifies the believing sinner, so He is *just* when He *adopts* him. No interest suffers. No rights of angels, men, or creatures, are infringed. The transaction is as equitable and righteous as it is authoritative and complete. The believer in Christ is the true brother of Christ who is the only-begotten Son of God, not only as possessing a common human nature with Him, a true body and a reasonable soul, but by being one in heart and mind and spirit with Him. He is regenerated, begotten and born again by the Holy

Ghost, and is thus brought into a vital, loving and fully fraternal relation with Christ; and as such he is presented by Christ to His Eternal Father for adoption. Then the great God, by an act of sovereign righteousness and grace, formally, authoritatively and forever receives him into His family, makes him His son and heir, a joint heir with Christ, His Eternal Son, but now the Elder Brother of the family, to a Divine inheritance. The form or method of this transaction is, of course, unknown to us. The procedures of Heaven's High Court are beyond our ken. But while the form is unknown, the effect of some form is revealed. On this point, I use the language of Owen (Vol. ii, pp. 210, 211): (1) The giving of the believer a *new name* in a white stone (Rev. ii, 17). They that are adopted are to take new names; they change their names they had in their old families to take the names of the families whereinto they are translated. This new name is "a child of God." That is the new name given in adoption, and no man knoweth what is in that name, but only he that doth receive it. And this new name is given and written in a white stone; that is the *tessera* of our admission into the house of God. It is a stone of judicial acquitment. Our adoption is bottomed on our absolution in the blood of Jesus; and therefore is the new name in the white stone privilege grounded on discharge. The white stone quits the claim of the old family; the new name gives entrance to the other. (2) An enrolling his name in the catalogue of the household of God, admitting him thereby into fellowship therein. This is called the "writing of the house of Israel" (Ezek. xiii, 9); that is, the roll wherein all the names of the Israel, the family of God, are written. God hath a catalogue of His household; Christ knows His sheep by name. When God writeth up the people He counts that "this man was born in Zion, that that man was born there." This is the record of the new name God gives to His adopted children. It is an extract from the Lamb's Book of Life. They are thus translated from the kingdom and family of Satan into the kingdom and family of God's dear Son.

4 and 5. I put the fourth and fifth particulars together. Those who are adopted into the family of God are freed from all obligations unto that family to which they belonged, and are invested with all the rights, privileges, dignities, immunities, and prerogatives of that into which they are translated.

(1) They are freed from all the obligations to law and justice which held them in the Adamic connection as children of the apostasy. They are not under the Law as a covenant of works, but are freed and delivered from it, and are under grace. There is no condemnation whatsoever to them. They are delivered from the

guilt * of Adam's sin, from the guilt of their own actual sins, and from the guilt of their indwelling sin. They are freed from all the authority and power which held them to the fortunes of that family. The dominion of sin, the dominion of Satan, the dominion of the world, the dominion of the flesh, all are escaped. They are emancipated, set free, from the bondage of sin, death, hell and wrath, to which they were subject by reason of their birth and being in the family of apostate Adam.

(2) They are introduced and welcomed into the home and family of God, and are, as we have seen, invested with the family name. They realize the deep, spiritual, sublime meaning of their baptism into the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. They are called sons of God, the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty, brethren of Christ: a new name, such as comports with their filial relations to their Eternal Father.

(3) They are quickened with the life and gifted with the spirit of the Only-begotten Son. The love of God as the Father of Jesus Christ, and as their Father is shed abroad in their hearts, permeating, filling, controlling them and becoming a spiritual, filial instinct in them, so that they can say, just as Christ says, *Abba Father*. The Holy Spirit, who is the bond of the Trinity, the cement and seal of their union and communion, is the very bond which unites believers to Christ, and so is the common centre and source of that ineffable union and communion declared in our Lord's intercessory prayer, "I in them, Thou in Me, they in Us. Truly our fellowship is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ."

(4) They are blessed with the confidence and affection of sons. God is not only their reconciled God, but their everlasting Father who loves them with an ineffable paternal love, such as He feels towards His only-begotten and eternal sons. Twice did that Son affirm this in His intercessory prayer: "Thou hast loved them as Thou hast loved Me;" and, "That the love wherewith Thou hast loved Me may be in them and I in them." And in accordance with this, the Holy Spirit residing in them bears witness with their spirits that they are the children of God. And the joy and delight of God in these sons of His brought to glory by Christ is simply inconceivable. He joys over them with singing; He sings His joy and His love to them. They are His rest, His love, His crown and royal diadem, His jewels, His glory, His portion, His treasure, His inheritance. He calls them the dearly beloved of His soul. We read of the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints.

* The word *guilt* is here used in the sense of *reatus*, liability to legal consequences, and not in the sense of *culpa*, blameworthiness.

In the same line of thought with this, expressive of something ineffably great and glorious and surpassing all thought, there are passages which I do not profess any ability to interpret, but which are in perfect accord with all that has been said. The Church, made up of believers in Christ, united to Him, and adopted by God as His sons, is said to be the fullness of Him that filleth all in all. They are said to be partakers of the Divine nature and to be filled with all the fullness of God.

(5) In their adoption as the sons of God, believers are exalted above all the other creatures of God. Angels and archangels, all the hierarchies of heaven, seraphim, thrones, dominions, principalities and powers, are all below them in privileges, position, rank, dignity and familiarity with God. These all worship the God-man in the midst of the throne, ascribing to Him power and riches and wisdom and strength and honor and glory and blessing. In the last great day, when Christ is lifted to the highest heights of His glory, He proclaims them to the universe, not His servants or subjects, or friends, but His *brethren*. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My *brethren*," etc. As assessors with Him on His throne, they shall *judge angels*. And angels are the appointed servants of the adopted sons of God. "Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister to them who are the heirs of salvation?" It is written that, the same power, "the exceeding greatness of God's power, which wrought in Christ when He raised Him from the dead and set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality and power and might and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come," works in believers to quicken and raise and exalt them to the same heavenly places, where they sit with Him on His throne, as He is seated with His Father on His Father's throne, and reign with Him forever and ever. And so, by their union in a common humanity with the Son of God, who is God over all, blessed forever, their everlasting preëminence as sons of God is established.

(6) They are invested with the form, lineaments, beauty and glory of God's eternal Son. They have the image and verisimilitude in soul and body of the only-begotten Son of the Father. "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." "We are changed into His image from glory to glory." "These vile bodies shall be changed and made like unto His glorious body." "The glory which I had with Thee before the world was, I have given them;" surely a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

(7) They have the liberty, the glorious liberty, the liberty in glory of the sons of God.

(8) They have the protection and tutelage of sons. God dealeth with them as with sons. "Like as a *father* pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him." "Like as one whom his *mother* comforteth, so will I comfort you." He numbers all the hairs of their heads. He that toucheth one of them toucheth the apple of His eye. *All things* work together for *their good*.

(9) They have the right and title to the possessions of the Divine Father. They are heirs of God just as His only-begotten Son is His heir, for they are joint heirs with Christ. This inheritance is the mediatorial purchased possession of the Son of God, the reward of His infinitely meritorious righteousness. This inheritance consists of: 1. The world and all things in it, Paul and Cephas, and life and death, and things present and things to come, the kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heavens. 2. Heaven and all it contains, its throne and dominion and splendor and wealth and glory, and that forever and ever. As wide and vast and enduring as is the inheritance of Christ, so wide and vast and enduring is the inheritance of the adopted sons of God.

But I pause in this attempted explication of the doctrine and the fact of God's adoption of believers in Christ, into His family. I freely confess that the subject is transcendent. Like the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Love of Christ, it passes knowledge and understanding. I have simply collected and studied the words of Scripture and tried to make them speak and declare their own meaning. They teach something other than and beyond pardon and acceptance, regeneration and sanctification and everlasting salvation. There is scarcely a subject of more elevating, ennobling and thrilling interest connected with the unsearchable riches of Christ. To call God the *Father* of men when we do not mean that He is the Father of men either by *generation* or by *regeneration* and *adoption*, but merely a kind Creator, a loving and merciful Friend under the plan of redemption, is practically to deceive them. If we use the term metaphorically, as a figure of speech, we should do so in such a manner as not to mislead. A sonship without the prerogatives, immunities, liberties, rights, heirship and instincts of sons is of little worth, and a sonship with them is only by adoption.

It has been argued that Adam was originally in some way or other, how and to what extent is not stated, a true and proper son of God. He held the relation with the consequent rights and title and prerogatives of a son, and possessed the *filial instinct*, and this irrespective of the incarnation of the Second Person of the Godhead; which incarnation, being based upon the apostasy of Adam, could

not be the ground of Adam's sonship before he sinned. It is also held that while the relation of sons continues in his posterity, the *filial instinct* having been destroyed by sin is restored in regeneration, and so the sonship in its completeness is restored.

I do not see how the plain and explicit doctrine of adoption, taught in the Scriptures, is compatible with this. An existing *relationship* of father and son is not destroyed by the abandonment of the family by that son, nor is the *paternal instinct* eradicated by such abandonment. The *relationship* exists in the *nature* of the case, and cannot be rendered non-existent either by disinheritance on the part of the father or by desertion on the part of the son. The Roman law of adoption, certainly, never contemplated such a case. The Scriptural doctrine of adoption, as stated in our Standards, seems to me to be evacuated by the claim of an original sonship of man to God. An "official" fatherhood, a "providential" fatherhood may be well enough, but this is not the fatherhood revealed in the Bible towards those that are adopted and made heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ.

The tendency of the doctrine of the All-Fatherhood of God is to Universalism. The whole Bible view of law and penalty and punishment is undermined. A *Father* ought not to be a judge: his paternal relations and instincts disqualify him. If God deals with the race of men as with *sons*, then *chastisement* and not punishment is what they receive. And as there are no bastards in *God's* family, it follows that all are subjects of only paternal correction and not of strict judicial administration. The Word (2 Sam. vii, 14, 15), "I will be a father to him and he shall be my son: if he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod of men and with the stripes of the children of men, but my mercy shall not depart from him," states the true principle of paternal government. The doctrine of satisfaction to the Divine justice by a substitute is stripped of its meaning and its power, and paternity, paternal love and compassion and spontaneous forgiveness take its place. The person of the sinner rises superior to the sin he commits, owing to his filial relation and position; and the immanent, eternal and necessary justice of God gives place to the compassionate will of God. Sin, satisfaction, atonement, penalty, punishment, Divine judgship and Divine sovereignty are all weakened and soon obliterated, and the doctrine of universal salvation emerges and ere long comes to the front. God as a parent and God as a "consuming fire" do not go together. In the Bible God never finally punishes His adopted children; they are all saved. And if all men are His children by nature, not only is adoption an irrelevancy, but all must be saved; for the dealings of God with His sons are educational, disciplinary,

corrective, reformatory, not punitive. If the sons of God are punished with everlasting destruction from His presence, then the paternal government is a failure. Doctor Candlish says, "The merely analogical view of the Fatherhood of God lies at the root of much if not all of our modern infidelity."

I had designed to refer to several places in the Scriptures which some have held to teach the All-Fatherhood of God, but I remark:

1. The truth of adoption being established, a different explanation is necessitated. 2. It is easy, in most instances, to detect their metaphorical character. 3. In the Old Testament passages referring to Israel, their *typical* character must be recognized.

I close with a brief explanation of the parable of the Prodigal Son, so far as it bears on the subject we have considered. There are three complementary parables in the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. They are all spoken for, certainly they all point to and serve, one and the same end, viz., to vindicate Christ against the scornful charge of the Pharisees made in the second verse: "This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them," for they saw that "all the publicans and sinners drew near to hear Him." The accounts of the lost sheep, the lost piece of money and the lost son are given to illustrate and exemplify the fact that Jesus Christ is just what the Pharisees accused Him of, the friend of lost sinners. This is very evident. Why the third, that of the Prodigal Son, the most striking, powerful and effective of them all, should be taken out from its connection and diverted to a wholly different matter, entirely irrelevant to the purpose of Christ, and made to illustrate not *His* love, but the love of God the Father, for the lost, I cannot see. It is a dislocation of Christ's argument, and the introduction of a subject which has no bearing on Christ's defense. But this parable, derived, as are the others, from common life, and the story told concerning a kind and well-to-do father among men, with two sons behaving in the manner related, serves with great force and effect to make Christ's vindication of His matchless love complete and triumphant. He says, I am like the shepherd going after the one lost sheep; I am like the woman searching for the one lost piece of silver; I am like the father welcoming his lost but penitent Prodigal Son. The parables are each and all of them proofs of Christ's own personal love to perishing sinners. They are designed and adapted to prove this beyond all question, and they are not designed to prove anything else, assuredly not the all-fatherhood of God to the human race.

THOMAS H. SKINNER.

CHICAGO.

IV.

THE CHURCH AND DOCTRINE.

“GOD alone is Lord of the conscience; and hath left it free from the doctrine and commandments of men, which are in anything contrary to His Word, or beside it in matters of faith or worship.” This was the unanimous opinion of the ecclesiastical ancestors of the Presbyterian Church in this country. With the above judgment, they deemed it perfectly consistent to declare the terms of admission into the communion of any specific church, and the qualifications of its ministers and members. With wise liberality, they left the prudence of the eldership to determine the qualifications which should open to the applicant the privilege of the Lord’s table. The private confessions in use in many of our churches, which are suddenly thrust upon those already admitted by vote of the session to “sealing ordinances,” and which so often commit young or ignorant persons to propositions beyond their comprehension, have as little warrant in the Confession as in the Bible. Whether, a century ago, any would have affirmed of admission to the individual church what Dr. Charles Hodge affirmed of interdenominational communion: “No particular church has the right to require anything as a term of communion which Christ has not made a condition of salvation,” we need not inquire. It is of no consequence: he who builds with God, builds always better than he knows. Of church membership, we are all probably agreed that, “*Qui Christum nescit, sat scit, si cætera nescit;*” but, in respect to the teacher’s position, we should want to understand just how much was involved in “knowing Christ,” and how great was the ignorance of other things. Believing that truth and falsehood are not upon a level, and that there is an inseparable connection between faith and practice, truth and duty, the fathers deemed it necessary that “all who are admitted as teachers should be sound in the faith.”

That men might charitably differ as to what constituted “soundness” they granted; but with holiness as the touchstone of truth, believing truth to be in order to goodness, they held it to be the duty of the Church to rebuke error and to stand for sound doctrine. This necessitated some common standard of judgment. Organization, indeed, of any kind presupposes agreement. Societies must

have their charters defining their aims, governments their constitutions. Rights must be defined; citizenship itself must have its limitations, or the State puts a premium upon anarchy, if not upon civil war. It may be said, indeed, that love is better than law; and that is true of the ideal love; for it is the strongest kind of self-enforcing law, so that, if anywhere in the universe we can find any one of whom it is said that he *is* love, we shall find the very fountain of law and order, a being without variableness or shadow of turning, and one who to all that ultimately withstands love must be, as law is to all on the wrong side of it, a consuming fire. If the Church of him who is not the author of confusion is to be the pillar and ground of the truth; if she is to give commandment concerning vain talkers and deceivers, teaching what they ought not, that their mouths must be stopped; if she is to hold fast the form of sound words in faith and love, and if, in the discharge of discipline, she is to exercise authority; certainly there must be some law, some authoritative discrimination between truth and error; and wherever this is, be it more or less, there is doctrine.

The existence of doctrine held in common implies, of course, back of the doctrine some recognized authority. This authority may be conceded to the Church. Then, if any refuse to hear the Church, he becomes as the heathen man and the publican. The word of God may be regarded as the authority, and then the doctrine will be the supposed teaching of the Scriptures on such points as those associating together deem it wise to formulate that teaching. Again, men may feel, as did Theodore Parker, that the Bible is a mixture of truth and error; full of mutually exclusive statements even in its descriptions of the divine character; combining such contradictories as "love" and "a consuming fire;" disfigured also with apocryphal stories of supernatural occurrences; and that the husk and chaff must be separated from the grain if we would be fed and not choked by it. Then there must be a supreme authority back of the book, determining what is true and what false. Pushed to the extreme of individualism, not merely each age but each person must for himself discover anew what is truth—the problem is ever fresh. Faith, if it would know truth, must keep constantly viewing itself in the mirror of consciousness. The sources of Christian theology will then be largely in experience: each must begin with a doctrine as immature as his experience, and faith, or subjective certainty, become the measure of truth as well as the aim of practice. The sum of truth will always be the amount appropriated; no more, no less; that is to say, the amount of what we *believe* to be true, whether it have objective reality or not. Any system which founds truth upon the subjective certainty of the creature founds upon finite fallibility;

and this is not merely not foundation enough for God and his truth, but, as in Berkeley's case, is possibly consistent with a supreme conviction of the infallible virtue of tar-water, coëxisting with an increasing skepticism as to the existence of an external world. It is not altogether assuring to rest one's belief upon a form of certainty which in calm and undisturbed assurance may find itself outreached in the nearest insane asylum. Nor is a certainty which rests upon "a show of hands" much more assuring. In any case, however, back of the doctrine there is an authority of some kind, supreme and wider in its range than the doctrine itself, a possible fountain of more doctrine, or of corrections and variations in the doctrine already held.* This point is carefully guarded in the Westminster Confession. Because of the fallibility of councils and synods their deliverances are not to be made the rule of faith and practice; only so far as consonant to the word of God they may be helpful. The Scriptures alone, as given by divine inspiration, are the rule of faith and life. The worship of God may not be in any other way than that prescribed by Scripture. Nay, so carefully is this point guarded that it is further affirmed: "The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture, is the Scripture itself." If, therefore, the challenge is given, "Why not make the Scripture alone the rule of faith and obedience?" the shortest answer, perhaps, is, "The Church has already done so." The Confession itself abdicates a claim, the supposed existence of which is not infrequently made a ground of criticism.

But if so, what then is the necessity or even the value of a formulated system of doctrine? How did doctrine—meaning by this a systematic statement of related truths—how did doctrine originate in the Church? Is it not an instance of "teaching as their doctrines the precepts of men, making the word of God of none effect through tradition," which, as Scripture itself declares, makes worship vain? It must be confessed that the beginning of the Church life and of creeds does not seem to be simultaneous; for doctrines were not given in a formulated system apart from other truth. Doctrine indeed there was, and, as the need existed, doctrine carefully formulated and exactly if not systematically taught, as the discussions on sin, on justification by faith, on law and grace, in Romans and Galatians abundantly evidence. It may be also that there was prepared early some simple, formulated, doctrinal statement for the instruction

* It was the recognition of the Scripture as such a source which led to Robinson's famous saying, "The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of His holy word." It is not a little remarkable that many most fond of quoting the prediction should point almost everywhere except to the word of God for the new light.

of candidates for admission to the Church. Possibly there may be a reference to formal, doctrinal teaching in Hebrews v, 12: "For when by reason of the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need again that some one teach you the rudiments of the first principles of the oracles of God." In chapter vi, 1 and 2, these "rudiments" suitable for babes seem indeed to include the doctrines of repentance, faith, baptism, laying on of hands, resurrection and eternal judgment. If this was the milk of doctrine for babes, one cannot but wonder what must have been the solid meat for full-grown men, to which the writer refers. The first dissensions, however, being personal, with watchwords of Paul, Apollos, Cephas, there was less need of doctrinal tests; though there are hints of such need in regard at least to the preaching of another Gospel, and the denial of our Lord's human nature.* But as soon as there is well-defined and systematic doctrine of error—for error does not object to doctrine, but only to sound doctrine—it must provoke well-defined and systematic statement of truth; and the object of the first carefully formulated creed or doctrine will be exclusive—the exclusion of error. It may be erected as a barrier against those outside; but the limit of exclusion is also the boundary of inclusion; it will be a bond and protection to all inside.

Where the error is simple and single, and the Church as yet one body, it is simply a question of the majority and of its view of the teaching of the received standards; as in the Nicene controversy, where the battle was concerning the person of Christ, and the appeal to the word of God. There are those who feel that it had been better if the Church, at that time, had been purged of some other things besides Arianism; that is, if there had been more definition, more exclusion; for wherever there is definition there is exclusion. Define and divide—there is no help for this. Quality is gained at the expense of quantity. Definition, moreover, must occur wherever there is intelligent questioning and earnest feeling. Ignorance or apathy is the condition of creedlessness, men scarcely knowing, hardly caring to what they swear allegiance. Where belief is simply an embalming fluid injected into the veins of a corpse in quantity sufficient to preserve from putrefaction, doctrine signifies little; but where belief is a fire in the bones, out of the heat of his faith the man, with psalmist and apostle, must speak, because he believes.

It is true that men with great gravity and wisdom continually rise and assure us that Christianity is a life and not a creed. Well, so is an idiot a life—with the brains left out—a life without a creed; though hardly such a life as Rousseau would have chosen to illustrate his maxim, "When one begins to think, he ceases to feel."

* *E. g.*, Gal. i, 8, 9; 1 John iv, 1-3; 2 John, 10.

Error is apt at disguising itself under a figure of light. It has not been the experience of the Church that there is any antagonism between correct thinking and correct living; rather the contrary. To swing away from a creed is not necessarily to swing nearer to God. In judging of the value of creeds, it is quite fair to contrast the history of the creed-breakers with that of the creed-makers. Presbyterians may profitably study the records of their own Church amidst the rationalistic ruins of France and Geneva and among their Unitarian cousins in England, and ask whether fidelity or infidelity to the creed is the explanation of the defection;* and whether any uplift of spiritual force has followed the lowering of the standards. Whatever be the value of the witness of the Holy Spirit in the "Christian Consciousness" of to-day as to the worth or worthlessness of doctrine, there can be no doubt of the value of his witness as to the worth of doctrine in the life of the past. The true antithesis is not between doctrine and life. It is a very wild exegesis which distorts our Lord's saying that he who will do the will of God shall know of the doctrine (or teaching), whether it be of God, into an affirmation that if the life is right the belief is of no consequence. He is speaking to men who already know more of God's will than they fulfill, men who are not living in accordance with the light they have, and he tells them that if they would but live up to their light they should have more light; if they would transmute into life the teaching they had, they would be illumined as to the truth which he taught (his doctrine or teaching) that it was from God. That is to say, that one of the rewards of

* Diametrically opposite answers will no doubt be given to this question, as also to the cause of "Moderatism" in Scotland (see chapter ix, of Blaikie's interesting description of "The Preachers of Scotland"). Certainly, such a test can hardly be applied with fairness to one's own time amidst the heat of controversy. The minority will always regard itself as the seven thousand which have not bowed the knee to Baal. Perhaps we all might well reflect upon Dean Smith's saying: "We are very hard upon the Pope, and yet there are but few men who have sense enough practically to doubt their own infallibility." Nevertheless, there would seem to be not a little unthinking cant on the subject of Creed and Life. Some time since, at a convention of college students, a distinguished professor from abroad, and fresh from a visit to Harvard, earnestly exhorted the young men—most of whom probably could not so much as have repeated the Apostles' Creed—to shun the slavery to creeds which he seemed to think was sapping the religious life of our American colleges. An auditor to whom his remarks seemed well-nigh grotesque in their absurdity, ventured to ask whether he had found the colleges which had the least of respect for creeds to have the most for religion. The professor modestly declining the authority of an expert, the question was referred to the Secretary of the College Association, Mr. Wishard, who replied that just the contrary was the truth; and he produced statistics to show that it was just from the colleges holding most faithfully to their denominational standards that the ranks of the church and ministry were being recruited.

doing the will of God is a revelation of the very teaching or doctrine which the passage is frequently cited to discredit. No, the contrast in history is not between doctrine and life, but between the life which results from true doctrine and that which results from false. If God is truth, it certainly is not by holding truth, whether formulated or unformulated, that we become less like God. The end of doctrine is, undoubtedly, life, and the doctrine which is made for, and ends only in, itself is of the letter and not of the spirit. But if it be a means to an end, it is important in proportion as the true doctrine helps or the false doctrine hinders in reaching that end; for related truths cannot so well be studied in isolation, and the mind, with its love for classifying, for seeing the part in relation to the whole and the whole in the relation of all its parts—the educated mind is under a constructive necessity: it *will* systematize, and the choice is not between doctrine and no doctrine, but between true and false. No doubt the truths must precede and be the foundation of the doctrine, as the facts of history precede the philosophy of history; but as history is read aright only in the light of this philosophy, so the doctrine throws light upon the truth which it shows in its proportion and relation. So the doctrine of the Epistles throws light on the fact of the Gospel.*

The question, then, will not be of creed or no creed, but a question of more or less. The only consistent anticreedist is the atheist, as the anarchist is the consistent opposer of the creed in society or government; only here, our personal interests being immediately affected, we call the creed "Law and Order." Why should there be no law and order in the ecclesiastical world alone? There is a marked analogy between creeds in the Church and law and constitution in the State. Theoretically, we need but one law, the law of love; but that would be legislation presupposing the millennium. Human rights, too, are as old as man; but law shows the advance made in defining and securing these rights. The progress is written in the successive chapters of the world's laws. Enactment and revision show the scars of battle and the march to victory.

So historic creeds show the encounters between truth and error, and, for the most part, the conquests of truth. The popular idea that creeds are elaborated in theological seminaries and then forced upon unwilling minds is far enough from fact. They are nearly all the bulwarks thrown up in defense against the attacks of error. They were forced upon the truth by the enemies of the truth, and generally mark the exact point at which the enemy gave over the contest, deeming the position too strongly fortified to make renewal

* Compare Rainy's "Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine," p. 86.

of the attack profitable.* Men may run along the history of creeds and see if it is not the history of moral and spiritual progress, and that just in proportion to the fullness and accuracy with which each creed reflects the teaching of God's word and is held in sincerity. The attempt to divorce belief (which, when formulated, becomes doctrine or creed) and life is as unhistorical as it is unphilosophical. You may profess to care nothing for your shoemaker's theory of making shoes; but let him have a poor theory, and the shoe will pinch somewhere. The mind will always toy with the theory that the fruit is to be desired to make one wise, before the hand reaches out to pluck it.†

If there is no need to apologize for believing the truth, there is as little for expressing that truth in a clear, concise, exact form, that others may know just what we do and what we do not believe. A creed is simply the expression of a man's belief: if some one else agrees with him, it is their mutual creed. There can be no vigorous life without vigorous belief, whether the belief be true or false. For the affirmation to the contrary is just as much a creed, just as dogmatic, as the first affirmation. Theodore Parker's creed is as vigorous and as dogmatic as Calvin's. "I do not believe there ever was a miracle or ever will be. I do not believe in the miraculous inspiration of the Old Testament or the New Testament. The Scriptures are no finality to me. I do not believe the miraculous origin of the Hebrew Church, or the Buddhist Church, or the Christian Church, nor the miraculous character of Jesus." That is as positive in its negations as is Calvin in any of his affirmations. It makes it no less a creed that Parker appealed to his Christian consciousness for his authority, and Calvin to what he regarded as the word of God: dogmatism has to do with statement, not source.

If, therefore, there is to be a Church, it would seem to be not more a duty than a necessity that it frame a creed—a creed established on some recognized standard of truth to which reference can be authoritative. In a divided, discordant, if not belligerent Christendom, not thoroughly Christianized, it is evident that the creed which, with any degree of completeness, comes nearest to exact truth is a creed which

* But whether as monuments to victory or to compromise, the time for them is after, not before, the fight.

† Characterizing the so-called Orthodox party (in Germany) as those who thought of consequences without consistency; the Rationalists as thinking of consistency without consequences, and the Mystics of neither consequences nor consistency, the translator of Dorner's "System of Christian Doctrine" observes: "The necessary sequel was soon seen. An assertion of principles which was merely speculative with the thinkers, with the masses became practical. The popular adherent of Orthodoxy (so-called) was narrow, the popular Rationalist was immoral, and the popular Mystic was sentimental" (Vol. i, p. 3).

of necessity will fail to commend itself to all who call themselves Christian. Brevity is not only the soul of wit but of any creed which would meet to-day the approbation of "The Holy Catholic Church"—brevity with indefiniteness. The church universal could not agree to-day to define itself, or upon what should be regarded as the authority for the first one of its definitions. The church universal to-day would, perhaps, never get beyond a committee on credentials appointed by a partisan majority of a provisional organization. We may, therefore, limit our use of the word "church" to its narrower and denominational sense. What shall the Church formulate as its doctrine? Surely the first step must be to state the authority on which it presumes to found, and, if it dare, the exact nature of the authority. I say advisedly "if it dare," because that brings up the very troublesome question of the Scriptures. What are the Scriptures? Are they the word of God? or do they only contain that word? and who is to decide what in the contents is and what is not of divine authority? Shall I listen to the voice of the redacteur as final, or only to the original narrator? Shall I acknowledge the final word to have been spoken by prophets and apostles, or by these worthies only when they have the good taste to agree with my own judgment? or with the judgment of some others? Shall this be the consensus of the churches of to-day or of the eighteen centuries? and if of the churches of to-day, just how much weight is to be given to such of the churches as suggest to some not a few of the symptoms of "a synagogue of Satan?" These simple questions are not merely interesting as preliminaries to the larger discussion of what the creed shall stand upon; but also as possibly containing sufficient theological dynamite to disrupt the average church; and the delicacy of the ambiguity with which a modern creed-maker would handle this first fundamental article of faith would be delightful to witness.

Granting, however, that all are far from holding, with Martineau, that the Scripture is chiefly concerned with interests that no longer agitate; that "they are felt to be an inadequate measure of our living Christianity, and to leave untouched many earnest thoughts that aspire and pray within the mind:" granting some considerable agreement as to the authority of Scripture as a source of doctrine; how comprehensive and how exclusive shall the constitution be as to doctrine? Shall we say, "He that is not against us is for us," and send over for the brother who was casting out demons, and ordain him an apostle? or shall we say, "He that is not with me is against me?" In this matter of formulating truth, shall we say that Christ came to send peace or a sword? to make the mother-in-law the joy of the daughter-in-law, or the terror? To one man it may be a ques-

tion of duty, to another merely of Christian expediency; and under either question, contrary answers may be given. A conservative man will, perhaps, want his confession as nearly as possible a systematized summary of Bible truth—as he understands it, just as broad, but also just as narrow. His opponent may desire to be brother to every good man, living ecclesiastically with him in the same tent—pitched nightly nearer heaven; or either may feel that it is not merely unwise to plow with the ox and the ass yoked together, but even with well-matched horses, unless yoked to the same end of the plow. If we lived in a country which measured its greatness by bulk, its true riches in terms of tons of pork; in an age which lusted after a large Church more than it prayed for a pure Church, no doubt the tendency might be to minimize the creed until the problem of the schoolmen as to how many angels could dance on the point of a needle without jostling might be solved theologically; especially if it did not matter whether the angels were of darkness or of light. Yet it would be a creed narrower than a point, that did not afford fighting room to the first two disputants that were in earnest. For this is surely one of the problems in formulating doctrines, whether a creed shall be a vague, unlighted tunnel in which men may in the darkness pass each other without challenge, each going freely in an opposite direction, and each confident that he is going not only towards the light—which he sees ahead—but towards the abiding place of truth.

This, if followed out, would open up the debate on Denominationalism which some ascribe to the kind providence of God, and some to the spirit of uncharity. The distinctively modern notion of a good creed is, perhaps, that it shall so far fail to indicate the right of the denomination to a separate existence as to leave it open to the imputation of willful schism. If a Church has the right to separate existence, it would seem that such right should be vindicated in the individuality of its creed. This is quite distinct from denying the equal right of other bodies of Christians to their organization with its ministry and sacraments; which as tending to deny Christ in the person of his true followers is of the worst essence of schism. A Baptist might heartily aid in ordaining to another ministry one who denied immersion; and a Presbyterian gladly assist to ordain over a Baptist Church one who failed to hold that God had a place in his Church and covenant for his children's children.

It does not take a very violent stretch of fancy to imagine as possible even a joint committee representing the evangelical denominations, whose office should be to examine candidates and to assign (if need were, ordaining) them to the churches in which they could serve with most efficiency and least strain of conscience in subscrip-

tion. Such an ecclesiastical "clearing-house" might even save much needless debate and strife. Yet, unless men were cast in one mould of thought and feeling, the creed and the denomination would still be demanded in the interests of peace. For, in truth, formulas do not originate, they simply mark distinctions; and these distinctions, affecting the equation in thought, affect it also in feeling. "I believe"—that perhaps discriminates between the idiot and myself—"in God"—that shuts out the atheist. Shall I go on to define until I have excluded the deist and pantheist and Mohammedan, to whom God is not "the Father Almighty?" Shall I further crowd out the Arian and Sabellian? They also believe in God as a Father. Am I not shutting out His children, my brethren, and is not charity better than all faith and all knowledge? Is it my unhappy duty to go on excluding?

A late, distinguished "pervert" confessed to an occasional suspicion that his apostolic airs were mainly air. Does something of the same modest suspicion check the Church from enforcing the apostle's test of the spirit of truth and the spirit of error, "He that knoweth God heareth us?" Or, if we are sure that we have truth of God, how much of God's truth can we omit, as well as hold, in faith and love, when we are making the confessional bond of our Church union? How much error, in kind or quantity, is it safe to fellowship? Just what percentage of "this doctrine" must be omitted before we listen to "the apostle of love," and close our church doors, and refuse the charitable "God-speed?" Certainly it is the duty of good men to stand together, as far as possible, and oppose one front to evil. We just now turned adrift our Unitarian brother because he counted our worship of our Lord Jesus blasphemy. So we feel concerning the worship of the mother of our Lord. Shall we say to our Romish brethren that a few misdirections of worship, more or less, should make no difference between those holding so much in common; and that if they will overlook our peculiarities, a few minor divergencies, such as Mariolatry and the Mass, mere errors of the head and not of the noble heart, shall not hinder our living under one capacious, cross-crowned roof? We must do this or make another division, and, in the most unmillennial manner, cut off at one stroke one-half of the "Holy Catholic Church." You must pay the price of unadulterated articles if you would be sure of your eating; and, if not, you must risk your digestion. It is easy to see how, with each precise definition in the interests of pure doctrine, the number of those who can stand together without straining conscience is lessened.

Why not then take refuge in vague terms and few phrases for the sake of this larger unity? The Romans are said to have been

victorious in proportion as they shortened their sword. Why not try the experiment with the creed? albeit it is not narrated that the Romans tempered the blade to bend before it hurt. Why not abbreviate the doctrine and have the whole Church in line, marching to victory under the inspiration of the lofty anthem which has won for itself the title of the Apostles' Creed; and which, flowing out upon lips long since singing to the golden harps of heaven, is hallowed by the memories of fourteen centuries? It is true that one cannot well conceive of the Reformation as being fought out upon a creed not unacceptable to conservative Arians, silent as to the blood of Jesus Christ, and having no reference to justification by faith or to the authority of Scripture. But we are not looking, just now, for a creed to feed life to men of war in a death grapple with error. We have no place in our liturgies for, "Blessed be the Lord my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight," until after Sumter is fired upon. It is always an interesting inquiry whether a brief creed is popular because of the truths which it contains, or of the truths which it omits. How much or how little of Biblical truth shall be reduced to exact statement, how much excluded, is usually a perplexing question. The fewer the truths, the more worthless, therefore, for thorough instruction; the more consistent it is with many errors admitting differing constructions of its meaning on vital points; the wider no doubt will be its acceptance, and the more popular with the many who would be crowded from a more exact platform. The ideal creed which many of us would seem to be seeking, which should be at once milk for babes and meat for strong men, is still in the distance, as is also that millennial condition in which the only creed shall be the hymn-book; or if so be creeds survive, their minatory clauses will be so sweetly and persuasively sung, that their repetition by the choir will be by request and so without offense.

To return, however, from this delightful dream. The object of a creed is so to formulate a statement of doctrine that the largest number of those in substantial agreement may live and work together under one ecclesiastical roof. It is to be noted, however, that the creed which encloses those substantially disagreeing, becomes simply the rope around the prize ring. In such an ecclesiastically "happy family," the only opiate which can preserve the peace is indifference. If there be anything more aggravating than to dwell with Solomon's "brawling woman in a wide house," it is to dwell in a wide creed with contentious theologians; and the wider the creed, the more of them will the house accommodate. If you want a peaceful death-bed, do not gather about it many doctors of differing "pathies." When a man's foes are they of his own house,

he can have peace only by abandoning home. To be in the same Church with divergent views, and to love truth enough to contend for it, is sure to irritate, to provoke, to challenge and stimulate controversy. It is, perhaps, the fashion, just now, in the interests of uniformity, to depreciate that unity of the Spirit which we are bidden to preserve in the bond of peace; but, historically, is it not demonstrated that the unity of the Spirit is not promoted by uniformity among those whose beliefs are radically opposed?

If without invidiousness we might look across the water for our example, it does not seem far wide of charity to remark, that the Thirty-nine Articles are of more interest to the historical student than to the bulk of the clergy of the Church of England. If, therefore, a practical minimum of creed servitude be an element in drawing minds and hearts together the last three centuries should be full of witness to its peace and purity and fraternal love. It might be offensive to say that a man may believe and express himself very much as he pleases. He may toe the slight line separating from the idolatry of the mass, prayers for the dead, and auricular confession; or he may preach Christ and Him crucified, our justification through faith. He may be a hyper-Calvinist. He may hold an infallible book to have been an excellent fiction to be set over against an infallible Church at the Reformation. He may hint that atonement in blood and eternal torment were fables on the level of the comprehension of old Norse butchers;* and so that he do not acknowledge Christ in the person of his followers in other churches in any such glaring way as by an exchange of pulpits, or discredit the magic virtue of sacraments by burying an unbaptized person, he may possess his soul and his living in unmolested peace. Here is practical freedom from the bondage of creeds together with ecclesiastical unity; but there is surely more of concord and practical agreement between churches of such diverse creeds as the Methodist and Presbyterian than between the High, Low, and Broad factions of the English Church. The greater charity is because of the separation. The feeling that I am in no wise held responsible for what I consider the errors of my Methodist or Episcopal brother makes charity for them easier than for my denominational brother whose errors are imputed to the Church for whose purity I share responsibility. The unhappy odors in my neighbor's house do not so disturb me as those which are poisoning my own household.

Nor can unity purchased at such a price be well pleasing to the Spirit of all truth, therefore hating all shams; nor will it delight

* See Haweis, *Contemporary Review*, February, 1881.

him if, parodying the hymn of union, we come into his presence, singing,

“Ten thousand thousand are our hearts,
But all our *tongues* are one.”

What shall it signify to him if we say together, “I believe in the forgiveness of sins,” when this man believes that sin is simply the sour taste of to-day’s green fruit, which to-morrow will mellow lusciously as it ripens; and his neighbor believes that how-ever distasteful sin may be to a holy God, love forbids the punishment of the sinner; and my brother, the ritualist, believes it to mean that the Church has imparted to him her authority to forgive the sinner; and I believe that the blood of Jesus Christ has come for justification upon the believing penitent? How far will this kind of unity fall short of organized hypocrisy? How long, under such unity, before we shall, for the sake of peace as well as of honesty, be framing creeds purposely to exclude each other, that each, ceasing to be held responsible for the other’s error, may cease controversy? It is needful to be sure that our peace is built upon truth, before we melt down our cannon for the monument to Concord. It is all the more needful in churches whose bond of union is not some accident of method in worship, or a national treasury gilding the glory of a historic past with a yet more substantial splendor and value. May we not take note here of history; for were not the earliest creeds framed to shut out those contentious spirits with whom there was the unity of ecclesiasticism, but not of the Spirit? It is easy to be more anxious for ecclesiastical unity than for Christian unity.

But, granted that the creedless man is the rudderless man, making no port, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine; granted that next to this man is he who ties up to an ambiguity and, thinking himself securely anchored, is adrift on the ocean, a pretty sure wreck himself, and likely to be unto others a source of collision and disaster; granted, also, if you please, that history warns the Church that creeds are never so cried against as when error is breeding and seeking covert for the safety of her brood—is there to be no compromise? Certainly; there can be no creed, no visible Church itself, without compromise. The path of honest belief is not as narrow as the gate of death, that all must march in Indian file. It does not follow, because of compromise, that truth is compromised; only individual preferences as to the expression of the truth held in common. Neither need the compromise found necessary so abridge the comprehensiveness of the creed as, on the one hand, to restrict it from excluding essential error; or, on the other, to fail in times of excitement to protect the

individual from being counted a heretic by show of hands rather than by show of doctrine;—a matter which has proved of practical consequence, as in the case of Albert Barnes, or Robertson Smith, or Prof. Woodrow. If it be granted that the creed should be so formulated that the largest number in substantial agreement may live and work harmoniously together in one organization, it will follow, that where those, who in any fair compromise can work together better than apart, are sundered by a creed, the creed is narrower than the truths on which it is founded and needs revision.* It equally needs revision when it is broad enough to bring together extremes of necessity antagonistic, so that men come together for strife and debate. It is poor economy to waste energy in fruitless attempts to agree. Just in proportion as men hold seriously to their convictions is it advisable for those contending on opposite sides of the faith once delivered to the saints to dissolve the organization which forces them into mutual conflict, and in distinct battalions turn their weapons against the common foe. It is better for two, who are sure that they are not agreed, to walk apart. If they are following Christ, they will come together again when both are wiser and holier; but *wiser* just as surely as holier. No doubt ample provision is to be made for the natural see-saw of theological opinion among those substantially agreed; but it is also to be remembered that, at each remove from the common centre, the strain increases prodigiously; and the plank is liable, at any sudden jar, to break in the middle. In the matter of agreement, the churches cannot outrun Providence. It is a beautiful picture of millennial times, which erects one fold for wolf and lamb, for leopard and for kid, and sets the lion in leading strings to the little child; but that prudence which comes from the study of God in history suggests that, until his appointed time has come, the lamb and kid are wise to study with some suspicion the natural theology of the wolf's tooth; and the young child, if he ventures any inno-

* The Westminster Confession, with its present terms of subscription, allows large latitude to differing minds. While in the pastorate, a student in a Presbyterian seminary consulted the writer as to continuing his theological studies. His mind had been unsettled by what seemed the conflicting views of his professor and the Lord Jesus concerning certain Scriptures, and he was inclined to believe that our Lord's knowledge was inferior to the instructor's. Not long after, this instructor expressed to me, in regard to an eminent preacher, that his Presbytery should rebuke him for his loose utterances on the authority of Scripture. It curiously happened that within a few days the divine referred to invoked my sympathy with him in the desire to have removed a professor in another theological institution, whose teachings he regarded as not in accordance with the spirit of the Presbyterian Church. An obvious reflection is, that some strictures as to the narrowness of the Standards would seem to need revision.

cent experiments on the hole of the asp, would do well to take along the family surgeon, with ample appliances for cauterizing the wounds.

From this somewhat fragmentary discussion, it would appear, then, that the Church should first determine the source of her authority to enforce discipline and to formulate the doctrine regulating it. From this source she is to frame a creed of truth by which to affect life, belief and teaching as favorably as the creed of error affects these unfavorably. This creed will exclude such errorists as the Church is not willing to become responsible for. This does not originate division, but simply marks it. In formulating such a creed the Church may wisely be somewhat affected in matters of emphasis and proportion by the age and its needs. That is true of the Scripture itself: it reflects in its emphasis of warning and instruction the light and shade of its own day. This does not signify, however, that the abode of truth is to be constantly shifting; as if, after eighteen centuries of the word and spirit of God, truth were still a homeless tramp. Truth is not an annual. Time does not destroy its life, only puts a larger meaning into it. We do not need a new Declaration of Independence, though it was narrower to the men who framed it than it is to us. Men led of God's Spirit, formulating the truths of God's word, are not limited by the horizon of the wisdom of their day. The prophets do not always know the largeness of their word, nor angels of their song. It is not needful to know how Moses read Genesis, or Jefferson the Declaration. If the creed is founded on God's word, formulating its truths, the Scripture will fill and color it with a life not of men. Such a creed, being meant to emphasize the Scripture, will always fairly be interpreted in the light of that Scripture. Its true reading will be in accord with and not contrary to the word of God. The Scripture is not twisted to the creed, but the creed grows out of the Scripture: if not, it must go. The Church must therefore form her creed by the comparison of Scripture with Scripture. The mirrors flash light one to another and brighten the whole. As to the influence on life, history in some measure teaches the relation of special forms of truth and error to specific types of character. Historic churches have specific characteristics. Some churches have been in the forefront of the battles for civil and religious liberty; some have lagged behind in missionary enterprise; some have been characterized by gentleness, others by little consideration for the rights of others. The duty here in framing a Scriptural creed is to exclude errors which have unfavorably affected Christian life. Here the emphasis must be given by Providence in the history alike of creed observance and creed neglect. Again, in the interest of Christian activity,

let the creed be so framed, that those who stand within it may be so far agreed as to spend their energies in work and not in jealousy and strife. Let the terms of union be so clearly defined that men really agreed will know that they are protected in their liberties, and are not working under suspicion; while others will know that they will work to better advantage elsewhere. The bond both for union and limitation will then be the truth held in common; and truth is never a galling fetter to the lover of truth. Given the Scriptures as the source, grant the correctness of the inference, and if the objection lies against the formulated truth, it holds also against the truth lying in the quarry. If this excludes some, it does so no less in the interest of peace than of purity. Ecclesiastical friendship is often a more kindly bond than marriage between those of incompatible views; and it is less likely to provoke strife, or to air scandal in the divorce court.

From this, the transition is easy to the responsibility of the Church for her pulpits, and for the doctrinal instruction of her teachers in her seminaries. If denominationalism is justifiable, these should stand fairly by the creed of the Church. There is a certain historic dignity and power, an impetus and influence to a Church, which clothes its pulpits with an authority not belonging to the preacher; and a Church should be slow to dress in this authority the man whose utterance is destructive of that which it has been her calling of God and her glory to have built up. This will be especially incumbent on a Church requiring for full membership only the confession of Christ as a personal Saviour, and credible evidence of conversion. Those who commit themselves to her care in the development of belief and life are entitled to protection from error; and the sources of instruction under which is matured the fuller belief and the Christian life of these unformed seekers after truth should be scrupulously kept pure. Nor will the creed which restrains certain teachings, if it be the creed of truth, prove a fetter upon the liberty of such teachers, other than as the axle is a fetter upon the wheel. That truth does limit is true: so does the track limit the freedom of the engine; but liberty here is the liberty of a destruction proportionate to its power for usefulness when lawfully restrained. What the Church needs is freedom under law; not independence of God's law, as reverently interpreted. Every affirmation is also a limitation: the affirmation of a personal, holy God is an immense limitation; but is the denial of this any less a limitation? Where there is truth excluding error, the Master Himself says of such limitation, "The truth shall make you free." Gravitation is no doubt a fetter to confusion and chaos, but it is free to order. Even a heathen could say, "*Parere Deo libertas.*" If this be stigmatized as

resulting in dogmatism, there is no help for it: the choice lies between dogmatisms. The dogmatism of an entire Church, in a spirit of prayer searching the Scripture under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and inheriting the dearly bought victories of truth over error through ages of conflict and growth, is likely to be as safe as the dogmatism of the individual in opposition to the verdict of the centuries.

Again, presupposing the right of the denomination to its existence, this duty of formulating doctrine to guide the teachers is not only in reference to life and work, but is vital to its own preservation. The truth universally held may be the most important of all truths; but if this were the only truth to be defended, as it is not anywhere endangered, the Church might again exist, as it did before the Arian heresy, with little or no creed. But the creed of one among many evangelical churches is not a homiletical treatise or an outline for sermons. If there are important sayings in Scripture which one would hesitate to discuss before babes, no doubt the same reservation must be observed in the preaching of the whole creed, and for the same reasons. The Church, however, which having a Scriptural creed fears to preach it, will probably grow the faster for the suppression; but always with the danger that her strength will become her weakness, and her ruin be wrought from within; her very bulk disrupting her bonds. A slower and more intelligent growth is safer.

In a Church thus formulating doctrine in respect to life, work in agreement, and education, it may be expected, that in authority the force of her creed will be the force of the word of God back of it; in respect of the influence of life, the influence of holiness, without which the love of God itself might, in its indulgences to license without penalty, become the most destructive force contending against moral government. As to unity in work, we should expect the charity of like desires and purposes and plans within; and, without, the charity that is not fretted and wasted by constant friction. As to the teaching which moulds the character of its congregations, we should look for a strict conformity to the whole counsel of God as revealed, with the strength and purity which the Divine Spirit has always made the outcome of the truth which he has himself given, that in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, Christ's Body might come unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of her Lord.

The Church whose creed tends in life to holiness, in work to charity, and in teaching to purity, will surely, under the divine blessing, do her part in restoring in man the broken features of the divine image. Her quiet may at times be broken, and her progress

labored : so far as controversies send us to a deeper and more reverent study of God's word, all who believe it to be the word of God, remembering that he makes the wrath of man to praise him and restrains the wrath that is not to his praise, must rejoice. In his own purposed time, which is ever the right time, he who is sleeping in the stern of the ship, whose power is in the storm, will rise, and rebuke the wind, and still the waves, and there will be "a great peaceableness," and the ship will come to the land whither the Master sent her.

TIMOTHY G. DARLING.

AUBURN

V.

COLLEGE COMITY.

COLLEGE Comity is intellectual only by inference. It is directly and preëminently moral. It respects discipline, but this in the larger sense, of course, as including not only penalties but the training which is prophylactic and renders penalties unnecessary. It refers to matters which themselves refer to the "Ten Commandments," and to all high standards and gracious models of character. Special virtues are those of personal purity, reverence for God, respect for the rights of others, absolute truthfulness (even to the faculty!), and submission to rightful authority.

I. If this be correct, we can go straight to the principles in the matter.

1. Of these, the first must be the supreme interest of all colleges in the maintenance of high standards of discipline. It is really the incomparably supreme interest. And this appears from several considerations.

(1) Comparison with every other interest demonstrates the claim of this one to supremacy. Hereon depends the value of the college to the community, or the Church, or the State. Make everything else excellent (if that were possible, which it is not), and destroy the positive character-making power of the college, or give it over to an office of encouraging wickedness, deception, disorder; and you have more than nullified every excellence. There are no opportunities of so vast importance as those which college life presents for obtaining such results as our civilization imperatively demands, and no mischiefs can be greater than those which must flow from surrender of these opportunities, except those that follow the use of them for positive evil, and the latter will certainly follow the former.

(2) The same supremacy appears from the standpoint of the comfort of college life for its administrators. The position of indifference to the moral outcome of college life is both un-Christian and uncivilized; though to a surprising degree it may be found in some of the world's famous universities. They may be comfortable for whom salary, or position, or reputation, or purely literary work replace that simple and holy enthusiasm for humanity which must characterize every true teacher. For the sensitive, it is misconduct,

or lower moral tone, or failure of manhood, which distresses and impedes and brings a nightmare of apprehension and dread. For the whole communion of anxious parents nothing can equal this reason for anxiety, and no interest of the institutions of higher learning can equal for them the influence there exerted to make or mar their sons and daughters. And there could scarcely be found a more delicate or more profound indication as to supremacy of interest than the divinely implanted parental instinct.

(3) The same supremacy appears when we remember how freely it is now everywhere conceded that character is the final aim in education. The consensus of writers is absolute in this, I believe, though the concurrence of practice be yet short of it. Good men first, then great men, is what the world demands of education in all its departments. If conduct is to be "three-fourths of life," it must be at least four-fifths of college life. Not to make possible presidents, but to make men who would rather be "right than president," is the mission of the college. And we know well that discipline is the mother of character. The training of the will has all the mental claim which that of the intellect has, and an accent of moral responsibility which the other cannot have. Moreover, we are all convinced that the moral thoroughly conditions the intellectual, and that, taken by and large, the best minds must go with the best characters; and that, as character improves, mind gets its opportunity to come to its own kingdom by attaining its true freedom from impeding vanities and blinding passions and unregulated impulses. No one doubts that the loudest demand of our day, and its most imperative need, is the equalizing of the now sadly unequal mental and moral limbs of our progress. If ideas are to rule the world, it is all the more important that the men who have ideas should have the character to rule well.

(4) But, coming closer, we cannot doubt that the exceptional position of the college community admits the making discipline a supreme interest. How favored that position is by the good will and taxes of the present, by the patient accumulation and devoted self-sacrifice of the past! How small, in proportion to what he gains, does the student give! By the very conditions of entrance into this favored community the supremacy of morals is always underlined. To perpetuate this pledged character, and to develop it where real; to correct the evil and create the character where the pledge is fictitious, is certainly all arranged for as supreme duty by the very terms of entrance. It would be well if students, however solicited, were always made to understand that toward deportment the relation is as clear and fixed as that of conduct is in a profession of religion and enrollment in the Church. The student who

ignores the claims of character in his education has never comprehended the exceptional position to which society invites him, with its indispensable conditions. The college which ignores its opportunity to insist upon and train into good character and conduct on this ground, displays an equal and less pardonable ignorance or a yet more culpable disregard of known duty.

(5) Nor does the supremacy of this interest appear less, but rather the more, from this final consideration, viz., the exceptional needs of the college community. These demand what the foregoing consideration admits. Away from home, in most cases, with all that means of stimulus to some and of relaxing restraints to more; early and later youth, with the impulsiveness and lack of experience which that means for almost all; defective ideals of conduct, in many instances, with here and there bad habits already formed by some, and the craving for vicious indulgences lying close under the surface with others—all these things present a condition of need which can be met by nothing short of careful discipline, educative, prophylactic and punitive. And this need is accented in coëducational institutions in some directions with great distinctness, for coëducation is wholly impossible except in a really high actual tone of morals and manners. And the need is accented for all, and yet more strongly, by the character of our American liberties, which are as social as they are political, and are not infrequently disposed, not only to rebel against arbitrary authority, but also to question and be restless under any authority. Just now we must not lower the standard of order or morals, because just authority is the only medium between oppression and anarchy. Judging from the rough habits and clinging impurities and obstreperous demonstrations which, despite all gladly recognized improvements, occur in the Old World as in the New, we cannot be too certain that the supreme interest is the life which issues in high standards of character and conduct adopted as convictions by the student-body, felt as the atmosphere of college life, and firmly regaining and holding its place after every temporary disturbance. Such is the supremacy of this interest and this is the first principle. Out of it grows, and for it mainly exists, what we know as College Comity.

2. The second principle is therefore like unto it, viz.: This high standard cannot be maintained without the strictest and fairest coöperation.

(1) This appears from the intracollegiate difficulties which surround the attainment and administration of such a standard. If it be not attained, *i.e.*, if the standard be not freely and *ex animo* adopted by the student-body, and reach the conditioning force of an atmosphere, then its administration is a matter of the extremest difficulty. And

when it has become characteristic, there are not wanting fresh materials which are not readily assimilated and occasional congestions which are as inexplicable as they are distressing. (2) Now, if we add to this intercollegiate difficulties and provoke resistance by the hope of escape to some secure and inviting college haven, we have thrown a heavy balance against sound discipline and its good results. We cannot help the slight differences which must exist in the definition of the high standard under consideration, but we can bring these to a minimum of injury by insisting upon the responsibility of every student to that standard under which he has voluntarily placed himself. (3) Here emerges the necessity of the undivided front. The extended line must be exactly aligned. The divorce statutes of our several States which produce such complexities, demonstrate the encouragement given to evil propensities by irregular lines of law. And this undivided front of coöperation is to be maintained at all hazards. Indeed, the hazards are in the main only apparent. The true risks are a thousandfold in the other direction. A broken line does not waver by companies only, but results in pell-mell and *sauve qui peut*. The defeat of one is the defeat of all here, for what is condoned over the way will be done within, and when one institution trails its standard, others are, at least, in danger of doing the same thing. No doubt the healthful and strong ideal which reigns in most of our American colleges would reduce these evils to something much less distinctive than their own influence would ultimate in, but there is enough human nature even in college officials and enough tendency to do the easiest apparent thing in a given case to make the experiment dangerous.

II. Now let us turn from principles to practice. As the former are simple and clear, the latter ought to be steady and consistent.

1. We must certainly record our gratitude that in so important a matter so admirable and nearly universal a consistency with acknowledged principle has always been and is being now observed. In fact, I have no certain knowledge of anything else, and to that I attribute much of the unquestioned power of college discipline among us.

2. Possibly some questions of the casuistry of college comity may arise.

(1) For example, where what is held to be disciplinable in any college is beyond the ordinary standard, what should be the decision in the case of appeal to be received, without the usual testimonials? I answer unhesitatingly that we are, in the other colleges, not to be judges of the standard which has been adopted by the proper authorities of any college, and that the inevitable confusion to which such judgment would give rise is properly avoided when

we affirm the necessity of deciding no other issue than the one of fact, viz., did the student know the broken regulation? This knowledge needs not to be accompanied or signalized by any special promise, written or verbal, for matriculation is as distinct a pledge of conformity to discipline as can be written in a volume. The reservation could only be necessary to save a student from the injustice of *ex post facto* legislation. And since no law is such which is adopted during the student's residence, but only becomes such when applied retroactively to a given case, there can scarcely arise any necessity for any judgment in the matter. Without any decision as to the intrinsic righteousness of an act of discipline passed by another college, we are under bonds of comity to regard it as valid because all the students of every institution are under sacred obligations to obey its discipline. The importance of this is plainly seen when we remember that this point is the one at which the esoteric ethics which infest every trade and employment and group of interests under the whole heavens, always appears in college life. That peculiar thing is very apt to put honor towards the faculty (a band of the natural enemies of the student) where the Jesuit moralists put keeping faith with a heretic. To a true sense of the underlying honesty which conditions confidence in college life, as it does everywhere, it is the duty of college comity firmly to hold every student. The same things are true when a question arises about the proportion of the punishment to the offense. We are not judges of the severity of a given penalty, but only of the fact before mentioned; and of that fact the withheld certificate of dismissal ought always to be considered final proof. If there be exceptions they must be of the rarest occurrence and in extremest cases; and the presumption must always lie heavily against any institution which received any student under discipline in another. A clear case of that kind should always be accounted for, it appears to me, and continuance of membership in any college association should be conditioned upon satisfactory explanation.

(2) Possibly a second case is worth considering. When the main ends of discipline would seem to have been accomplished, or when circumstances forbid the following to conclusion some rumor without the explanation of which a certificate should be withheld, or where facts have become known since the student left the institution, but prior to his request for a dismissal, creating a doubt as to whether a student may not be justly admitted to college privileges; what shall be done? I think, again, the answer is plain. Frank correspondence with the institution in which the offense has been committed will enable the one applied to for admission to learn the judgment of that institution as to the circumstances, and that judg-

ment should be final in the case. There can scarcely arise a case in which some equitable method of removal of any real hardship, or of any needless arrest of a student's progress, may not be found by such correspondence. I suppose that all are familiar with some such adjustments.

(3) A third case may be mentioned under the inquiry: Is the penalty of expulsion to be regarded as finally cutting off the student from the possibility of pursuing a course of education? The answer at this point must be less confident than the other replies, perhaps, because there may be usage here, and a safeguard in the usage, of which comparative inexperience has left the writer ignorant. But yet it seems plain to me that the analogy of ecclesiastical discipline may be safely followed here. Repentance may make, and the trial period of not less than a year may prove, a new man. In such a case the past should be forgiven. Reception and dismissal should follow, or explanation and acquiescence, through the frank correspondence already alluded to.

This finishes what appears to be the real question, before us, and yet the sentiment of mutual respect among colleges should find expression in connection with two things which I mention by way of appendix.

1. In the search for students, which, on ground so thickly sown with colleges, is certain to be made, and the making of which seems to be one of the most effective ways of awakening the still half-latent desire for higher education, the rule of unwritten courtesy ought to prevent direct efforts to persuade actual students to change their connections. Information sought should be freely and fully given, of course, but there is a clear line between this and aggressive solicitation. There may be a possible limitation in which the recommendation of a Church court urging the patronage of a denominational college may be necessarily and in a somewhat general way brought to the attention of those who are really parties by ecclesiastical affiliation to the erection and, therefore, to the sustentation of a particular institution. And just here would appear, no doubt, occasionally, the conscientious concern which animates the foundation of colleges by Protestant bodies and the direction of pupils away from Roman Catholic institutions, with the like but far less intense feeling which would lead to an effort to have them go to distinctly Christian institutions and to evangelical institutions, instead of those which proclaimed themselves as non-Christian or liberal. This is conscience, and comity has no demands which can nullify those of conscience. On the other hand, we must be swift to claim that as between all institutions, and most of all between institutions which differ in their thought and purpose about the

place of religion in education, there must be the utmost consideration, the softening of all possible asperities by the personal courtesy that true culture always brings, a total absence of all mean methods, a generous acknowledgment of every just intellectual claim, and an utter abomination of all misrepresentation.

2. The second note of appendix respects the acknowledgment of each other's intellectual results in receiving certificates of studies accomplished. Here there can be no law, no moral obligation, save that very general one which comes to those who believe that the general interests of education (which are the vital ones of our whole social life) would be best served by a generous extension of confidence, and a prevalent custom of credit to all work done anywhere. I am quite convinced that the policy of examination in all cases is, in some phases of it, a policy of suspicion, and is unfavorable to the development of the work we have in hand. It was a blessed change when we got away from the "Wild-Cat" bank, ever so many years ago, and began to realize the security and peace concerning the notes (of not very large denominations, probably) which we did have in pocket. And, perhaps, it would be a good thing if State or nation should issue regulations under which approximate guarantees of security for intellectual results could be given. Until then we should provide for some such arrangement, or rather encourage the ripening of the adjustments now in progress. I do not fear that in extending the hand of trust, either to our better equipped high schools, or to one another, we will lower the standard of attainment. And certainly it seems impossible to doubt that all such arrangements will ultimately increase the number of educated men—the practical discussion of means to which might well engage the universal attention of fellow-workers in the higher education. To all that college comity means of strong moral safeguard and quickening mental impulse, and increasing mutual esteem, there can scarcely be any college authority not willing to stand fully committed.

SYLVESTER F. SCOVEL.

WOOSTER UNIVERSITY.

VI.

THE DATE OF GENESIS X.

THIS article is an attempt to show, from external evidence, that the genealogical tables of the tenth chapter of Genesis could have been, and most probably were, composed as early as the time of Menephtah I and Moses. I. The first question to be settled is, How many of the nations mentioned in these lists are known, from other sources, to have existed before this time? Under this head we shall consider first those nations whose names in the Bible and in extra-Biblical sources have the same radical letters, and which certainly existed 1300 B. C. These are Tubal, Cush, Mizraim, Babel, Erech, Shinar, Assur, Nineveh, Sidon, Heth, Arvadite, Zemarite, Hamathite, Gaza, Gerar, Elam, Accad, Arkite, Calah. We shall consider, secondly, those nations whose names have probably been identified as names of nations known to have existed before 1300 B. C. Such are Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, Girsasite, Lud, Aram, Hul, Mash, Canaan, Phut and Tiras. Taking them up in order, we find that Tubal and Meshech have, since Bochart, been acknowledged to be the Moschi and Tibareni of Herod, iii, 94, vii, 78. In the time of Darius Hystaspes the Tibareni dwelt on the Euxine and the Moschi between the source of the Phasis and the Tigris. In the time of Sargon, Tabal (= Tubal) bordered Cilicia on the north, as remnants of the Tibareni still in Cicero's time seem to have done (Schrader, "K. A. T.," 83). When the third edition of Winer's "Realwörterbuch" was published in 1848, the earliest notices of the Tibareni known were those in Herodotus and Xenophon, though Strabo's mention of them was of special worth, because of his having been born in Pontus. The earliest mention of them until lately was supposed to be that made by Shalmanezzer II (860-825 B. C.) in his obelisk inscription ("K. A. T.," p. 82). But, since the last edition of Prof. Schrader's work was published, the inscriptions of Tel-el-Amarna have revealed the fact that as early as 1400 B. C. Tabal (= Tubal) was a country possessing a king and paying tribute to Egypt. In the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," for June, 1888, p. 514, we find the words: "Bir-nani, the king of Tabal, sent the horses to me, and he sent the tribute in haste to the city of Tsimura" (Bir-nani, sar Tabal D. P. kurrames ana yasi u uspira belata kima arkhies ana ali Tsimura). In Assurbanipal's time the principal tribute consisted of horses, for the number and excellence of which Cappadocia was celebrated in classical times also (see Gelzer, "Ägypt. Zeitschrift,"

1875, p. 14 *sq.*; "K. A. T.," p. 83; "En. Brit.," v, 68). No one will hereafter doubt that this nation, at least, may have been known to Moses.

Cush, or Kash, had been the object of campaigns of the Egyptian kings even before the time of Usurtasen III. Prof. Brugsch thinks that there is no doubt that the old name of the country was Aken; but, as early as Usurtasen I, Kas is mentioned as one of the nations of the south which were conquered by him. Both of these kings belonged to the twelfth dynasty; Moses lived in the eighteenth (see Brugsch, "Hist. of Egypt," i, 138-161).

Mizraim, or Mitsraim, is the Semitic name of the land of the Nile. Till within a short time it was supposed that the earliest mention of this name for Egypt occurred on the monuments of Tiglath-Pileser I, and this in a citation made by Assurnatsirabal. The date of the former is about 1100 B. C. He gives the spellings Mtsur, Mutsurn and Mutsri. Shalmanassar II (860-825 B. C.) and Tiglath-Pileser II also mention it, with the same spelling. The Babylonian version of the trilingual inscription of Behistun spells it Mitsir (compare the Arabic Mitsr and the Hebrew Mitsr-aim). See Schrader, "K. A. T.," p. 89, who calls special attention to this latter spelling. Now in the Tel-el-Amarna inscriptions, published in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Arch.," June, 1888, Egypt is mentioned twelve times, and always with the spelling Mitsri (it being always employed in the genitive). Prof. Sayce gives the approximate date of those letters as B. C. 1430 ("P. S. B. A.," 1888, p. 489). Mr. Budge dates them about 1500 B. C. These dates would put the Pharaoh of the Exodus in the latter half of the fourteenth century B. C.

Babel is mentioned under the name Babilu as early at least as the reign of Agukakrimi ("K. A. T.," p. 129), who, according to Sayce in his dynastic tables, reigned long before 1450 B. C. ("The Ancient Empires of the East," p. 296). His inscription is: "I am king of the Kassites and of the Akkadians, king of the broad land of Babil (see "T. S. B. A.," iv, p. 138).*

Schrader thinks that Erech has been identified in Warka, which he calls a seat of most ancient civilization (uralter Cultur). An early king of this city was named Uruk ("K. A. T.," 94; Sayce, "Ancient Empires," p. 293).

Shinar (שִׁנְעָר, Shin'ar) is by Schrader and others identified with the Shumer of the Babylonian monuments. It is written under the form Shumer as early as Hamurabbi, whom Schrader places about 2100 B. C. (see "Sitzungsbericht, Akad. Ber.," xxxi, 579-607, and "K. A. T.," 118). This Shumer passed, according to Prof. Schrader, through the middle-form Shumgër to the Babylonian Shuuger, as dinmer, "God," passed over into dingir, and then passed over to the Hebrews in the

* "On Babylon, Shinar, Assur, Elam, etc.," see, also, Winckler's "Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte," especially the first essay on the Babylonio-Assyrian chronology.

pronunciation shungar ("K. A. T.," 118, 119).^{*} Now, in the letter of the king of Alashiya to the king of Egypt (published in "P. S. B. A.," Plate ix) the king of Shankhar is mentioned along with the king of Khatte (itti shar Khatte u itti shar Shankhar). This is evidently the same as the Hebrew Shin'ar.[†]

Heth, in Assyrian and Babylonian, is often written for Hebrew Ayin. So Khaziti for 'Azzah (Budge, "Esarhaddon," p. 105, l. 15), Khumri for 'Omri, Khazazu for 'Azaz ("K. A. T.," p. 107). The only change in spelling is in the attenuation of the vowel of Shan into i. Does it not look as if the Hebrews received their spelling of Shinar as well as that of Mitsraim from the Babylonian as it was written in the time just preceding Moses?

On the rise of the Assyrian empire and the use of the word Assur as far back as 1820 B. C., see Sayce, "Ancient Empires of the East," p. 116, and "K. A. T.," 35. According to Prof. Brugsch ("History of Egypt," pp. 328, 329), Assur paid tribute to Thothmes III, 1600 B. C. Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, is mentioned in the Tel-el-Amarna inscriptions ("P. S. B. A.," p. 508). According to Schrader, it is mentioned as having existed as early as the nineteenth or eighteenth century B. C. ("K. A. T.," 97). Prof. Lauth holds that Nineveh is the Nii mentioned as the place in which Thothmes I set up two stelæ in honor of his victorious march into Naharina ("Aus Aeg. Vorzeit," p. 248, note).

Sidon is frequently mentioned before 1400 B. C. Among other places, see "The Records of the Past," ii, 110; "Survey of Western Pal.," p. 164; "T. S. B. A.," June, 1888, p. 548.

The Hittites, children of Heth, are mentioned under Thothmes III, B. C. 1600 (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," i, 334). On the Assyrian monuments, they are first mentioned under Tiglath-Pileser I, B. C. 1100 ("K. A. T.," 107). In the letter of the king of Alashiya ("P. S. B. A.," 1888, 569), they are mentioned along with Shinar. This letter was written before 1400 B. C. (see Shinar, above).

Arvad is first mentioned,[‡] in the Assyrian monuments so far discovered, in an inscription of Shalmaneser II (860-825 B. C.). In the time of Rameses II, it appears as one of the cities confederate with the king of the Hittites at the great battle of Kadesh (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," ii, 44). As early as 1600 B. C., Thothmes III says that in his sixth campaign against the land of Ruthen (or Luthen), he came to the town of Kadesh and destroyed it, and came to the town of Aruthut (Aradus) and served it in the same way (*id.*, Vol. i, p. 331; Lauth, "Aus Aeg. Vorzeit," p. 255; Chabas, "Études," p. 185).

^{*} Prof. Schrader, in reading Hebrew or Aramaic, pronounces the Ayin like the Arabic Ghain, whenever it represents an original Ghain; *e. g.*, 'Azzah he pronounces Ghazza.

[†] Compare Lauth, "Aus Aeg. Vorzeit," p. 255. The tribute of the king of Sangar was partly of bluestone of Babel. Brugsch, "History of Egypt," i, 334.

[‡] "Hebraica," p. 205, 1889. Arvad is mentioned in Pap. An. I.

Zemar has lately been identified beyond all doubt as being the classical Simyra, as Michaelis, in his "Spicilegium" (ii, 51) suggested. We cannot see how any one could have identified it with Samaria, as the LXX and Vulgate have apparently done, since Samaria, according to the Scriptures themselves, was built by Omri (1 Kgs. xvi, 23, 24). Jerome, the Targum Jerus., and Arabic version, have no authority for placing it at Emesa (Winer, "Realwörterbuch," Art. "Zemari"). The change of *ts* to *s* in the LXX was caused by the fact that the Greek has no letter to express the Semitic Tsodhe (Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible"). The city of Tsimir (ir Tsimir) is first mentioned on the Assyrian monuments by Tiglath-Pileser II, and often afterwards ("K. A. T.," 105), and frequently in connection with Arka. It is mentioned on the Egyptian records of Thothmes III, who says that he destroyed it (Brugsch, i, 331). In the tablet numbered XI (in "P. S. B. A.," 1888, p. 514) of the Tel-el-Amarna inscriptions, edited by Prof. Sayce, the first words are, "The city of Tsumura" (alu Tsu-mu-[ra]); and further on we have, "And he sent the tribute in haste to the city of Tsumura" (u us-pi-ra be-la-ta ki-ma ark-hies a-na ali Tsu-mu-ra).

Hamath is mentioned frequently in the Assyrian records from Shalmaneser II on ("K. A. T.," 105); but Thothmes III mentions it in his catalogue of the towns of Upper Ruthen, or Luthen, under the name Hemthoo (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," i, 350).

Gaza is often mentioned in the later Assyrian inscriptions, such as those of Assurnatsirabal (885-868 B. C.) and Esarhaddon ("K. A. T.," 107). In the "P. S. B. A." for 1888, p. 548, the city of Azzati is mentioned. Moreover, Thothmes III says, in the great tablet of victory at Karnak, that in the twenty-second year of his reign he left the Egyptian frontier to arrive at Gaza in a few days (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," i, 315; Lauth, "Aus Aeg. Vorzeit," p. 253).

Gerar is mentioned in this same tablet (No. 80) under the spelling Kerar. K is the regular Egyptian transliteration for Hebrew g; for example, Maketha = Megiddo, Makthel = Migdul, Haiklim = Haglaim (Mariette, "Les Listes Géographiques," p. 36).

As to Elam, Assurnatsirabal says that he recaptured from the Elamites a picture of the goddess Nanâ, which 1635 years before had been taken by Kudur-Nankhundi, king of Elam ("K. A. T.," 136; Winckler, "Untersuchungen," p. 18).

The Amorites are mentioned as early at least as the reign of Thothmes III (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," p. 352). They are mentioned afterwards in the reigns of Seti I, Rameses II and III (Lauth, "Aus Aeg. Vorzeit," pp. 290, 302, 361). According to Mr. Budge, the land of the Amorites is mentioned on the reverse of a tablet numbered 63 in the British Museum collection of the Tel-el-Amarna inscriptions (see "Proceedings S. B. A.," 1888, p. 549). M. Chabas thinks that the site occupied by the Amor of the inscriptions corresponds with that given to them in the Scriptures (see "Études sur l'Antiquité Historique," pp. 264, 275).

Arka, the city of the Arkites, is identified by Brugsch with the Arkatu mentioned at Karnak. "History," i, 343: "The king went along the sea-road to destroy the town of Arkatu." As Tunep and Kadesh are mentioned immediately after, there can be little doubt that the identification is correct. The inscription at Karnak is Thothmes the Third's.

Accad, as the name of a town, has been discovered by Dr. Hermann Hilprecht on an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I (see Delitzsch, "Commentary," *in loc.*).

Calah has been considered an insuperable objection to the Mosaic authorship of Gen. x. The question is: Could Calah have been mentioned in a list of places as early as 1300 B. C.? We think it could have been. First, it is stated by Assurnatsirabal that he had built anew the city of Calah, which Shalmanassar had built before him.* This Shalmanassar was the great-great-grandson of Assuruballit, who was contemporaneous with Burnaburiash, of Babylon, who wrote so many letters to Amenophis III and IV, of the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt. Shalmanassar thus would be contemporaneous with Menephtah I, the son of Rameses II. Now, unless we are to suppose that the commotions in Syria, caused by the wars of Rameses II with the Hittites and the invasions of Egypt by the barbarians, in the reign of Menephtah I, had cut off all communication by letter or caravan between Babylonia and Assyria on the one hand and Egypt on the other, what would be more likely than that the building of a new and magnificent capital city by Shalmanassar would soon become known to the Egyptians? The Egyptian monarchs would certainly be interested in this sign of the rising power of a rival kingdom. Had Calah been built in the reign of Assuruballit, every one must admit that its foundation stone could scarcely have been laid until a knowledge of his undertaking had reached Egypt. Are we to suppose that one of his descendants, less than a hundred years after, could have built a capital for his empire and not a rumor of its completion and grandeur have ever reached the confines of Egypt? But, even if there were no communication between Egypt and Assyria in the latter part of the fourteenth century B. C., there is certainly room for doubting that Calah was first founded by Shalmanassar. In the first place, the

* Kalchu machra sha Shulmanuasharid shar (matu) Ashshur rubu alik pania epuush machazu shuu enaachma izlal [ana] tili u karme itur machazu shuu ana ishshute abuf nishi kishidti katiya sha matati sha apilushinani sha (matu) shuchi (matu) Lakie ana sichirtisha Sirkku sha nibirti (naru) Purat (matu) Zamua ana pat gimrisha sha Bit-Adini u (matu) Chatte u sha Liburna (matu) Patinaai alkaa ina libbi ushatsbit, *i. e.*, old Calah, which Shalmanassar, king of Assyria, a prince preceding me had made—that city was fallen, brought to naught, become a heap and grass-grown—that city I built anew, the people of the conquest of my hands from the lands which I had conquered, I took from Suchi and all Laki from Sirkku, at the ford of the Euphrates, from all Zamua, from Bit-Adini and Chatti, and from Liburna, of the country of the Patinai, and I caused to dwell there (see the "Sammlung von assyr. u. bab. Texten," pp. 116, 117).

verb *epushu* or *ebushu* is often used of the rebuilding of a palace or city.* So that when Assurnatsirabal says that Shalmanassar had built (*epuush*) Calah, it may mean only that Shalmanassar had rebuilt it. But, in the second place, we have conclusive evidence from the inscriptions themselves, that this statement of Assurnatsirabal cannot be taken as settling absolutely the date of the first building of Calah. Nabonidus speaks of building the Temple of Sin at Charran, which Assurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon, had built; but Assurbanipal himself says that this temple had only been rebuilt (*upatika pitiksu*) by him, and that it had been built (*epushu*) before his day by Shalmanassar, the son of Assurnatsirabal.†

So that, to save Nabonidus from ignorance or inaccuracy, we must conclude that *epishu*, when used of a preceding monarch, does not always refer to the supposed first builder. If it did, then Nabonidus was wrong in speaking of Assurbanipal; and in like manner may Assurnatsirabal have been wrong in speaking of Shalmanassar I. To sum up, we have not convincing ground for believing that Calah was founded by Shalmanassar I; but, if we had, there is small reason for believing that a knowledge of its founding and importance could not

* Compare, *bit abushati sha ekal belutiya...sha enachuma ishtu ushshishu adi tachlubishu epuush, i. e., the house...of my royal palace...which was fallen from its foundation to its roof, I made (anew).* See "Sammlung von ass. u. bab. Texten," p. 127. Dr. F. E. Peiser translates the *epuush* by "baute ich (neu)." On the same page we have: *bitu sha pagri sha Erba-Ramman a tamlia rabaa sha paan iltana sha Ashuradinachi shar (matu) Ashur epushu emachuma epuush, i. e., the morgue (?) which Erba-Ramman and the great northern tamlia which Assuradinachi king of Assyria had built (and which) were fallen in ruins, I rebuilt (Peiser, baute ich).* Compare page 129 of the same: *tamlia...sha Tukulti-Ninib...epushu...artsip, i. e., the tamlia (Unterbau) which Tukulti-Ninib had built (made), I built (Peiser, baute ich [neu auf]).* Ramman-nirari calls himself the mukin of the fallen cities of the Kashshi, Kute *et al.* Peiser translates, *der da (neu) gründete (id., p. 5).* On page 7 of the same, Ramman-nirari says of a gate which had been made (*ipshu*) before but was fallen, that he made and returned it to its place (*epuush ana ashrisu uitiir*). On page 42 of the same, Tiglath-Pileser I says, of a temple which had been built (*ibuush*) by Shamshi-Ramman, that it had lain in ruins 641 years, that Ashurdan had torn it down and not built it again (*bitu shaatu ibbul ul ibuush*). Dr. Winckler translates the last, *nicht (wieder) aufgebaut.* A like use of *ebush*, in the sense of rebuild, may be seen in the "Proceedings S. B. A.," 1889, pp. 125, 126, 127, 210, and in many other places.

† See Samuel Alden Smith's "Assurbanipal," pp. 12-18, for the statements of Nabonidus and Assurbanipal. The Assyrian text will be found in the appendix to the same, and in III R., 28, 29, end. The inscription of Nabonidus may be seen in the original in V. R., 65, col. i, 46 *sq.* S. A. Smith renders it into German, which may be translated: "To build Echulchul, the Temple of Sin, my Lord, who goes at my side, in Charran (Haran), which Assurbanipal, the king of Assyria, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the exalted, who was king before me, had built." Of this same temple Assurbanipal says: *bit Sin...kirib Charrana Sulmanu-asharedu apil Ashur-natsir (apil shar Ashshur) (mach) riya epishu, i. e., the Temple of Sin in the midst of Charran, Shalmanassar, the son of Assurnatsirabal, king of Assyria before me, had made.*

have reached Egypt in the reign of Menephtah I, the Pharaoh who reigned at the supposed date of the Exodus.

Before considering the names which have probably been identified as the names of nations known to have existed before Menephtah's time, let us make the following remarks on the nations whose names have already been explained :

First, it is to be noted with regard to them that many of them have different names in different languages ; *e. g.*, Aigyptos was the Greek name for the land of the Nile as far back at least as the time of Homer ; Mitsr was the name common to the Asiatic peoples (see " P. S. B. A.," June, 1888) ; the Accadian name was Magan (Schrader, " K. G. F.," 289 *sq.*), and the native name was Kemi (Lepsius, Article " Ægypten," in " Herzog's Encyclop."). In like manner, Aithiopia was the Greek name for Nubia, Cash was the Semitic name, Milukhkhi was the Accadian name (" K. G. F.," 282 *sq.*), and Kash the Egyptian (Lepsius, Art. " Æg.," in Herzog, i, 175 ; Brugsch, " History of Egypt," i, 285).

Secondly, it is to be noted that some of the names most frequently mentioned on the Egyptian monuments are omitted entirely from the Assyrian and Babylonian, and *vice versâ*, *e. g.*, Elam is not mentioned on the Egyptian monuments, though admitted to have existed as a powerful empire before 2000 B. C. ; and Assurnatsirabal's citation of Tiglath-Pileser's mention of Egypt gives us the oldest notice of Egypt on the Assyrian monuments. The reason for the omission of these names is that naturally and reasonably those nations only are mentioned which were brought into direct communication with the monarchs who made the monuments. The nations which lay beyond direct commercial, tributary or hostile relations, we could scarcely expect to find mentioned on temples of victory, like that of Thothmes III, nor in odes of triumph, like Pentaur's, nor in treaties of peace like that of Rameses II, nor in reports of viceroys like the despatches to Amenophis IV, nor in voyages of discovery like that of Queen Hasheps. Tabal is mentioned in the reports sent to Amenophis IV (" P. S. B. A.," 1888, p. 514) as sending tribute to Egypt, whereas Meshech, its next-door neighbor, is not ; on the contrary, Meshech is mentioned on the Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I (1100 B.C.), whereas Tabal is not mentioned till Shalmanassar II (Schrader, " K. A. T.," 82-85). Meshech was farther from Egypt than Tabal, and hence was most probably out of the circle of its influence, though not necessarily of its knowledge ; Tabal, in like manner, was further from Assyria than was Meshech, and hence the Assyrian monarchs came into direct contact with it, and mention it about 250 years later.

II. We shall now consider the names which have probably been identified as those of nations which are known to have existed before the time of Moses. We shall take them up in the following order : Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, Girgasites, Lud, Aram, Hul, Mash, Canaan, Phut and Tiras. 1. As to Elishah, Delitzsch holds that the ancient view of Josephus and Jerome, that this means the Æolians, is the

most probable; though he admits that "this Hebraizing of the name with the inclusion of the nominative ending $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is abnormal." Bochart held that it was the Peloponnesus, in which was Elis. Ebrard says: "Since, according to Pausanias, iii, 21, purple was produced to the later centuries in Lacedæmon, we might think of a Greek tribe inhabiting the Peloponnesus" (see "Christian Apologetics," i, 304).

The Targum of Jonathan has the province of Italia. The Peshito has 'Alisha in Gen. x, 4, and 1 Chron. i, 7, but 'Ellas in Ezek. xvii, 7. Ebrard thinks that, "by the interchange of l and r, a trace of the word Elishah might be found in Eryx!" but he seems to forget that this would involve a change also of sh into ks (see "Apologetics," ii, 305). Shulthess held it to be the west coast of Africa, which was possessed by the Carthaginians, and from which they brought purple. He thinks, also, that Carthage may in early times have been called Elissa, after its founder and guardian goddess (Justin, xviii, 4 and 6; see Winer's "Realwörterbuch," i, 321). But, as Dillmann says, it would not then have been put among the Japhetites, nor has it yet been proven that Carthage was ever called Elissa ("Commentary on Genesis," *in loc.*).

Thus we see that Elishah has been variously explained as being Hellas, Elis, Æolis, Italy and Carthage (or Africa proper). In answer to the first three, we might say, with Dillmann, *in loc.*, that the Hebrew shah for the Greek nominative ending s is inconceivable (undenkbar). In the transliteration of Greek words in the Syriac New Testament, as we have taken pains to observe, we always find semkath put for sigma, shin never; as is also the case in the Targums (see numerous examples in Levi's "Wörterbuch"). Delitzsch himself admits that it would be abnormal. Neither Hellas nor Æolis is found often in the poems of Homer (Gladstone, "Homer," p. 13); and if Elis, in its local and more ancient form, were meant, we would expect to find Yelis, from Welis or Velis (see "Encyclopædia Britannica," viii, p. 130). The most that can be said for any one of these three is that, if it were proven historically that it was Elishah, we would be compelled to set aside the philological objections to it. As to the supposition that it is Italy, there is no historical or philological basis for it; the only grounds whatsoever for it, being the paraphrase of the Targum to Ezek. xxvii, 7, and a gloss by Syncellus, "Elissa, from whom are the Sicilians."

Since the Hebrews were generally accurate in their transliteration of names, as any one can see by comparing the proper names which occur both in the Scriptures and on the monuments, let us see if there is not some evidence on the monuments for the existence of a nation or country which would correspond to the Elishah of Gen. x, and of Ezek. xxvii, 7. Among the letters sent from "various Asiatic kings" (Sayce, in "P. S. B. A.," x, 488) to the Egyptian kings, Amenophis III and IV, are a number from the king of Alishiya (compare the LXX Elisa in Gen. x, 4; 1 Chron. i, 7; but Eleisai, in Ezek. xxvii, 7). This

king's name is unfortunately lost; but he styles himself the brother of the Egyptian king, and prays, "may peace be multiplied in my countries" (ina libbi matatiya danis lushulmu, "P. S. B. A.," x, 567). He has horses and chariots. He promises the king of Egypt bulls and trees and vessels of bronze, the like of which were not made in the land of Egypt. He asks for a man who understands eagles, and that the king of Egypt will not make any treaty with the king of the Hittites or with the king of Shankhar. This Alishiya may be the same as the Alus, which is mentioned in the inscriptions on the Temple of Victory, by Rameses III, where he says of the invading nations that they "came up leaping from their coasts and islands."* Here it will be noticed that they are mentioned again as being neighbors of the Hittites. That they came leaping from their coasts and islands may be compared with Ezek. xxvii, 7, where we are told that purple stuffs were brought from the isles (or coasts, since the word *'iyyim* may mean coasts, or regions; see Gesenius and compare Delitzsch and Cheyne on Is. xx, 6) of Elishah, or as the LXX have it, "Eleisai."† While we do not know enough about Alishiya to say what its language and racial affinities were, yet it seems to us that its identification with Elishah would meet the requirements of history, philology and exegesis. The difficulties in the way of identifying Elishah with Hellas, Elis or any other country increase the possibility that it is the same as Alishiya. If it be admitted that Elishah is Alishiya, the mention of it by Moses would seem the most natural thing in the world; if it be not admitted the impossibility of the mention of it by Moses cannot be asserted, until it be proven (1) what country or nation Elishah was, and (2) that this country, or nation, did not exist in the time of Moses.

By Tarshish three principal historical localities have been understood, to wit: Tartessus in Spain, the country of the Tyrsenoi or Etruscans in Italy, and Tarsus in Cilicia.

1. Prof. Rawlinson argues in favor of Tarsus because of the improbability of Tartessus having been Tarshish, since, owing to the distance of Spain, it could hardly have been known to the Egyptians in Moses' time. Tarsus, moreover, was close to the Kittim ("The Origin of the Nations," p. 185). The arguments of F. G., in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," in favor of identifying Tarsus with Tarshish are: (1) That Tarshish is transliterated *θαρσις* in the Greek versions; (2) That *Ταρσος* in the New Testament is transliterated in the Syriac versions Tarsos (t = teth, s = semkath). But, in answer to (1), it may be said that it is no argument for any position for Tarshish, since it is a mere transliteration; and besides, not *θαρσις* but *ταρσος* is the Greek name of the capital of Cilicia. In answer to (2), it may be said that, with the

* Lauth, "Aus Aeg. Vorzeit," p. 361; Chabas, "Études," p. 260.

† Whether Alishiya has any connection with the Alizones of Homer ("Il.," ii, 857) or with the Halys, or with the Lasonioi or Alusonioi of Herodotus (vii, 77; iii, 90), further discoveries may reveal. May not the Elusa mentioned by Mariette, in "Les Listés Géographiques," p. 49, be the same as Elishah?

exception of Tyros, Greek τ is always transliterated into the Syriac of the New Testament by teth, and that sigma is regularly transliterated by semkath.

2. We find the following facts and traditions with regard to the origin and history of Tartessus in Spain :

(1) It certainly existed before the time of Solomon (1 Kgs. x, 22), and was not first known by this name after the settlement of the Phœceans, as De Goeje supposes.

(2) It most probably existed before the Phœnicians came to Spain, since the name (contra Gesenius' Thesaurus and with Knobel in his "Völkertafel," p. 92) is not Semitic, but most probably Semitized from Turdetania into Tarshish (Dillmann, *in loc.*).

(3) Not the city, but the land and people are meant, or, as Eusebius says, "Tarshish, from whom the Iberians." This is evident, first, from the analogy of the other names in the list; and, secondly, from the statement of Herodotus (i, 163) that the Phœceans made early voyages to Tartessus as well as to Iberia and Tyrrhenia (Herodotus does not say, as the English edition of Delitzsch's "Commentary on Genesis," Vol. i, p. 313, leads us to suppose, that the Phœceans had settled there before the Phœnicians took advantage of the mines of Tartessus).

(4) We think there can be no reasonable doubt that Tartessus is the city generally meant in the Scriptures by Tarshish.

(5) The inhabitants of Spain were probably allied with the Etruscans in origin, language, alphabet and culture (see Knobel, "Völkertafel," p. 90 *sq.*), and this leads us to mention :

3. Some facts and traditions as to the origin and history of the Etruscans.

(1) According to the traditions of Herodotus (i, 94), a body of Lydians colonized Tyrrhenia. Niebuhr claims that these Lydians were probably Mæonians ("History of Rome," i, 108), a tribe mentioned by Homer ("Il.," ii, 864-7) as coming against Troy from the neighborhood of the Gygean mere. As Canon Rawlinson says, "The mythus may represent the flight of the Mæonians westward, on the occupation of their country by the Lydians" (see his "Herod.," i, 281 *sq.*). A. S. Murray, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," viii, 556, says: "The Lydian origin was accepted by the Etruscans themselves in later times, and many have seen confirmations of it in the similarity of the tombs and tunnels existing in both countries and in the records of a singular community between them in such matters as music, games and customs. The legend of Herodotus is an attempt to explain the word Tyrrhenia," etc.

(2) Another tradition asserts that Pelasgians from Thessaly had entered Italy from the Adriatic by way of Spain and founded Cortona. But, according to Thucydides, xi, 109, and Herod. i, 57, the Pelasgians were the same as the Tyrrhenians. Homer calls Thessalian Argos Pelasgian ("Il.," ii, 681), and Zeus he surnames Pelasgian (*id.*, xvi, 233).

(3) There were Tyrrhenians in Thrace, Thuc., iv, 109. Indeed, Thrace itself, if Knobel's argument for the change of *k* and *s* be accepted, might be denoted by the Hebrew *Tars*, and Thrakia might be connected with Tarkonia (= Tarquinius), in Etruria, and with Tarraco and Tarraga and Tartessus, in Spain ("Völkertafel," p. 89). In historic times, the chief seat of the Tyrrhenians outside of Etruria was in Thrace, where they worked the rich silver mines, and seem to have had the same disposition for the fine arts as the Etruscans ("Encyclopædia Britannica," viii, 557). These Thracian Tyrrhenians probably made their way by land to Italy in the earliest times (*id.*).

(4) The same Tyrrhenian race which was found in Thrace was found in Asia Minor also (Thuc., iv, 109; Murray, in "Encyclopædia Britannica," viii, 556). Homer mentions the Pelasgians that inhabited deep-soiled Larissa and places them next to the Thracians, who were led by Akamas.

(5) They seem to have come at an earlier date still from the highlands of Phrygia, whence came all the Pelasgians before they divided into Italians, Greeks *et al.* (see Keary, "Outline of Primitive Belief," 163 *sq.*, and compare Herod. i, 57, 58).

(6) While the name given to this widely extended race by the Greeks after they separated from them was Pelasgoi (from *paras* and *ja*, the far-goers, or from *peran* and *eimi*, the further-goers. See R. Pischl, in the "Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung," Vol. xx, and Prof. R. C. Jebb, in "Encyclopædia Britannica," xi, 82), they probably called themselves Thraks, or something analogous ("Völkertafel," p. 89). Compare how the Greeks called themselves Hellenes, though, according to Aristotle, they had at an earlier time been called Greeks (Met. i, 14).

4. Whether or not it be admitted that the Tartessians, Etruscans and Thracians, all or in part, were the same, it must be admitted that there is a possibility of the dispersion of such a race along the northern shore of the Mediterranean, from Phrygia to Spain, before Moses' time, and that the Hebrews may have denoted one or all by the name of Tarshish.

(1) The analogy of the wide dispersions of the Gauls and Goths, of the Phœnicians and Arabs, of the Normans and Turks, shows the certainty of the possibility of migrations of immense bodies of men by sea or land (compare De Quatrefages, "The Human Species," Book v).

(2) The tradition recorded by Herodotus (ii, 103-105), that the Colchians were colonists from Egypt, left by Sesostris in his Asiatic campaigns, and the long residence of the Babylonian Israelites in Goshen and the early settlement of so many immigrant tribes in the Delta, show how widely different branches of the same nation could be dispersed by land, even in the earliest times. That we do not know how or when the Tartessians went from Asia Minor to Spain does not prove that they did not do so. The emigration could certainly have been made either by sea or land.

(3) If, with Sir John Lubbock ("Prehistoric Times," p. 73), we believe that we are "quite justified in concluding that between B. C. 1500 and 1200 the Phœnicians were already acquainted with the mineral fields of Spain and Britain," we can see how a knowledge of the Tartessians (their name changed into Tarshish, according to the rules given in Gesenius' Thesaurus) may have been conveyed to the Hebrews in Moses' time.

(4) But, even if the Phœnicians did not convey such information to Egypt, the widely extended settlements of the Pelasgoi along the northern shore of the Mediterranean sea would lead us to suppose that they were early accustomed to distant voyages, which might easily have brought a knowledge of them to Egypt.*

(5) These traditions and suppositions are supported by the Egyptian monuments, as interpreted by Brugsch, Lauth, Birch, Chabas and others. They show that tribes from beyond the Mediterranean, as early at the latest as 1200 B. C., attacked Egypt by sea. Among these tribes are mentioned Danau, Tuirska, Turses, and some who are said to be from the "sea of Tuirsha." Was not one of these peoples, the radical letters of whose names are *trs*, *trsk*, *trsh*, most likely the same as one or more of the peoples called the Tursenoi, Thracians, Tartessians and Tarragonians? May not the Mediterranean, or part of it, have been called the "sea of Tuirsha," because of their wide-spread settlements along its coasts and of their extensive commerce? And may not an early commercial supremacy of such a maritime people and the possible giving of their name to the Mediterranean sea, or a part of it, account for the "ships of Tarshish" of the Scriptures, and also for the fact that Tarshish itself is sometimes translated "sea" (compare the Vulg. to Is. lxvi, 19).

5. From the above arguments it may be seen that, if Tarshish be identified with Tartessus, Etruscans or Thracians, it could have been known to the Egyptians before 1300 B. C., and probably was known under the name of Tuirsha (Chabas, "Études," p. 36, sq.).

* We are too apt to underrate the commercial ventures of ancient nations. Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D., says, in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," Vol. xviii, p. 7: "It is perfectly possible that the art of writing may have been communicated to China from Mesopotamia about 2500 B. C., by the ocean route." Dr. Meyer says: "Um die Mitte des 2ten Jahrtausends vor Christi war der Seehandel der Phönizier, wie die ägyptischen Denkmäler lehren, bereits in hohem Maasse entwickelt" ("Geschichte von Aegypten," p. 230). Egyptian commerce reached as far as Babylon in the twelfth dynasty (*id.*, 183). In the twelfth dynasty, the commerce on the Red Sea, which had been begun in the eleventh dynasty, was in full bloom (*id.*). Chabas says that the objects of Egyptian antiquity found in Algeria may be witnesses of the knowledge in Egypt of this country ("Études," p. 237). Gladstone finds traces of Phœnician influence all through Homer's "Odyssey" ("Phœnician Affinities of Ithaca," in *The Nineteenth Century*, for August, 1889). Sir Henry Rawlinson draws attention to the mention of ships of Ur in the early inscriptions, and to the connection of these with those of Ethiopia ("J. R. A. S.," xxvii.)

As to the Kittim, there seems to be no doubt that Cyprus, or the coast opposite it, was inhabited by them.* This island was, perhaps, first conquered by the Egyptians in the time of Amasis (Herodotus ii, 182), though under the name of Asebi it certainly paid tribute to Thothmes III, 1600 B. C. The tribute which its king then paid consisted of brass, lead, bluestone, elephants' tusks (?), copper, mares and chariots (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," ii, pp. 325-327), showing that even then it was rich and civilized. The same king mentions "the Kiti (= Chittim of the Holy Scriptures), who possessed the island, and, in all probability, the sea coast lying to the north of the Phœnicians" (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," i, pp. 321, 326, 352; Von Ranke, "Universal History," i, p. 13). The first mention of the island of Cyprus in the Assyrian records is in the reign of Sargon (722-705 B. C.), under the name of Jatnana or Atnana. He conquered it, and mentions it often in his inscriptions (Schrader, "K. G. F.," 242 sq.). Judging from the proper names mentioned in the tribute lists, Prof. Schrader concludes that it was, beyond doubt, possessed by Greek colonies much earlier than 700 B. C. ("K. A. T.," 87); though we doubt if they prove more than that a people allied to the Greeks, and not Shemitic, lived there before that time. The inscriptions lately discovered in the island "show that the native Cyprian language is a form of the Greek, and that therefore the native Cyprian people belonged to the Aryan stock" (W. H. Goodyear, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," American Supplement, ii, p. 509, and compare note to Bunbury's Art. in "Encyclopædia Britannica," vi, p. 661). These Aryans must have come from Asia Minor. According to Prof. Socin, Cilicia, as well as Cyprus, was originally peopled by the non-Shemitic Kittim, who left their name in the Cilician district Ketis ("Encyclopædia Britannica," xviii, p. 818). Perhaps they were the same as the Kiteians of Homer ("Odyssey," xi, p. 521), and the river Ketus of Mysia may have been named after them. Their syllabary is said to be a modification of the Altaic hieroglyphics used in Asia Minor (Conder, "Altaic Hieroglyphics," p. 97). The islanders may have been called Kittim by the Hebrews, from the city of Kition (compare Romans from Roma), or, more probably, from what has been said above, it may be concluded that both city and people were named from a real or supposed ancestor, or hero (compare Jews from Judah).

We have not, at present, sufficient knowledge to affirm or deny that there was historical or racial connection between the Kittim and the Macedonians. Knobel and Canon Rawlinson claim also that the ma of Macar and of Magog denotes places, *i. e.*, Macar would be the land of the Carians, Magog the land of Gog. So, no doubt, Macedon, in its Doric form Makitis, may mean the land of the Kiti (compare the Kiti, and Ketis, and Kition and Kiteians mentioned above). Who

* Kedi ist "ein mehrfach vorkommender Volksname, der die Bewohner Nordsyriens und vielleicht des südlichen Kleinasien zu bezeichnen scheint." Meyer, "Geschichte von Aegypten," p. 245.

knows but that the Macedonians may have swerved to the north-west and the Kittim to the south, from their originally common home in Phrygia? Still, in the present state of our knowledge, we think it is more probable that the use of the word Kittim, to denote the Macedonians in 1 Macc. i, 1, viii, 5, and possibly for the Romans, in Dan. xi, 30, is an extension of its meaning, which was probably occasioned by an adaptation or misapprehension of the "isles" or "coasts" of Kittim of Jer. ii, 10, and Ezek. xxvii, 6 (see Dillmann, *in loc.*).

The Girgasites, according to Brugsch ("History of Egypt," ii, 44), are the same as the Kerkesh, who were allies of the Hittites against Rameses II, the father of the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The change of Shemitic g to Egyptian k is usual (see the lists of Thothmes III, Brugsch, "History of Egypt," i, pp. 350, 351).

Lud has generally been identified with the Lydians (Josephus, i, p. 64), because of the similarity of the names (Assyr. *mātu Luddi*). Some have supposed that there was an ancient Lydian empire, which reached as far as Syria.

It seems to us that most of the arguments put forward by Prof. Sayce in favor of an ancient Hittite empire in Asia Minor would equally well support an ancient Lydian kingdom, such, for example, as the legends which make the founder of the Heracleid dynasty of Lydia, the son of Nilus and the grandson of Belus.

The close relation of art, literature and religion between Lydia and Babylon also points to an early relationship in race (see Sayce, "Ancient Empires," pp. 211-235, and Art. "Lydia" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." According to Schrader ("K. A. T.," 114), Luddu is first mentioned among the Assyrians on the monuments of Assurbanipal (668-626 B. C.).

Rawlinson thinks that Lud is the Ruten (or Luten) of the Egyptian monuments ("Origin of Nations," p. 234). Prof. Schrader thinks that this is probably true, the ending *en* of Ruten, according to Wiedemann, being a demonstrative sign. Prof. Erman, of Berlin, denies that the *th* of Luthen would go over into *dh*. But is not this *th* the same as that in Tharnaskoo (Damaskus), Loothen (Lod), Makthel (Migdol) and Hadithu (Hadida), as identified by Brugsch ("History of Egypt," i, 350, 351)? This name is frequent in the monuments of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties.

Aram is perhaps mentioned by name in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (Lotz, "Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser," i, p. 45). Schrader thinks that Shalmanezer II may mean Aram when he speaks of a king of the mat Aramu. Under the name Naharain, the Egyptians, as early as Thothmes I, understood Mesopotamia and perhaps the adjacent regions (see Lauth, "Aus Aeg. Vorzeit," p. 248).

Traces of the tribe or nation called Hul in Gen. x are found from Armenia to the Jordan. Josephus mentions a town called Oulatha LXX, for Hul = Oul), between Galilee and Trachonitis (Ant., xv, 10), which is in the same locality as the ardu l'khuleh, near the sources of

the Jordan, whose inhabitants Pliny (v, 19) calls Hylatæ, *i. e.*, according to Delitzsch, the inhabitants of the Hule valley, between Palestine and Cœlesyria ("Comment.," *in loc.*). The Lake of Merom is, in Arabic, called the Bahr el Khule (Kiepert's Map of Palestine). Delitzsch says that the cuneiform inscriptions frequently name a country Khûlia, in connection with the mountain land of Kashyar, which he identifies with Mt. Masius, the Mash of our text. He does not mention the date of the inscription (see "Comment.," *in loc.*). This position would accord approximately with that assigned to Hul by Josephus (Ant., i, 6, 4). Sir Henry Rawlinson says: "There are names in the early cuneiform inscriptions, Khula or Khuliya, which are probably connected with Cholobatine (Khul, of Bitan, the latter term being the old Assyrian name for Armenia) and with the Hul of the Scriptures (see Bochart's 'Phaleg,' ii, 9). The upper course of the Tigris is likewise named Khali in the inscriptions" (see note in Rawlinson's "Heroditus," i, 122). We would merely suggest, if this Hul may not be the same as the Khalu (or Kharu) of the Egyptian monuments. A people so named was one of the four principal nations which, in the time of Thothmes III, occupied Palestine and Syria. They were the southernmost of all, and, according to Prof. Brugsch, were the Phœnicians ("History of Egypt," i, 221); but, according to Prof. Rawlinson, they were more probably a Syrian people ("History of Egypt," ii, 257). There is no doubt that they were a Semitic people, highly esteemed by the Egyptians, and carrying on with them a lively trade, partly by sea, partly by caravan (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," i, 221-225). As to the change of Hebrew Heth into Kh in Egyptian, compare Khalgoot (Helkath), Khashboo (Heshbon) (*id.*, i, 350, 351). These Khalu are mentioned as far back at least as Thothmes III (*id.*, i, 321).

Mash is identified by Delitzsch with Mt. Masius, the south-eastern branch of the Taurus chain, lying on the upper Tigris, above Nisibis. He further says that Mt. Masius is the same as Kashyar of the cuneiform inscriptions. If this be so, it is mentioned as far back as Tiglath-Pileser I (Lotz, "Die Insc. Tig.-Pil. I," Col. i, 72). Schrader puts a Mâsh on the Euphrates some distance north of Nisibis (see the map in "K. G. F."). Brugsch identifies the Masu of Rameses II's inscriptions with the inhabitants of Mount Masius ("History of Egypt," ii, 44). On account of their position, this seems more probable than to suppose that the Masu are the Mysians (Sayce, "Ancient Empires of the East," p. 216); which, however, Kalisch on other grounds maintained ("Comment.," *in loc.*). Josephus says that it means "Mesanians, now called Charax Spasini" (Ant., i, 6, 4), which, according to W. L. Bevan (in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," p. 1829), was "in lower Babylonia, on the shores of the Persian gulf." Josephus no doubt confounded Mash with Massa, whose descendants were most probably the Masani, who are placed by Ptolemy (19 §2) on the east of Arabia, near the borders of Babylonia (Bevan, as above,

under Massa), where Schrader says that the Babylonian inscriptions also place them ("K. G. F.," 102, 262ff, 364).

In favor of the northern position of Mash is the fact that in 1 Chron. i, 17, the Hebrew text reads Meshech instead of Mash, and that the LXX, in both Genesis and Chronicles, reads Mosoch. Mash (*i. e.*, Mount Masius) and Meshech (*i. e.*, the Moschi) being adjacent, have probably been confounded, or, as Rawlinson maintains ("The Origin of Nations," p. 244), the country of Meshech was inhabited by a mixed race of Japhethites and Shemites, both dwelling together.

In conclusion, it may be said, that whichever country may be identified with Mash, or wherever Mash may be located, the fact remains that the Egyptian monuments mention the Masu as existing 1400 B. C. and as known at that time to the Egyptians. Let those who assert that Gen. x did not mean them, prove it if they can. The greater the difficulty in identifying them with a people of later times, the greater the probability that the Masu of Rameses are meant, and that the mention of them was made by some one conversant with Egyptian history.

Canaan is probably meant by the mat Akharri of the Assyrian monuments as far back as Tiglath-Pileser I. Under the Akkadian name mar Martu, it is mentioned on an old Babylonian brick inscription of the Elamite king, Kudurmabug, found at Ur-Mugheir, written doubtless before 2000 B. C. It is, perhaps, meant by the mat katnana ("K. G. F.," 365), occurring in another inscription whose date is unknown. It seems to us that it will most probably be found that the mat Kinaaim mentioned in the Tel-el-Amarna inscriptions ("P. S. B. A.," 1888, p. 549) is the land of Canaan. The Babylonian reads: ana sharrani sha mat Kinaaim ardani ahiya, *i. e.*, "To the kings of the land of Kinaim, the servants of my brother." That Canaan was in early times settled by a people related to the Egyptians, Cushites and Phut, Prof. Brugsch believes to be proven by the dark-red color with which they are all painted and denoted on the monuments (see "Abh. u. Vort. des 5ten Orientalisten Congresses," African Section, p. 76).

As to Phut, three main views have been held. Some have thought that it lay between Egypt and Cush, being equivalent to To-Pet, "the region of the bow" (see R. S. Poole, in "Smith's Bible Dictionary"). A second view is that it denotes a part or the whole of Libya, and at least the country between the Canopic branch of the Nile and Libya, which, in Coptic, is called Pi-phait ("L'Egypte sous les Pharaons," ii, pp. 28-31, 243; Cheyne on Is. lxvi, 19; Dillmann and Delitzsch on Genesis, *in loc.*). A third view is that Phut is equivalent to Punt, which lay south, or south-east, of Cush (Bunsen, "Egypt's Place," ii, 304; Ebers' "Egypten u. die Bücher Moses," i, 64; Brugsch, "Die altäg. Völkertafel," in the "Abhandl. des 5ten intern. orient. Congresses," iii, 51 sq.). It is argued in favor of this last view—first, that the omission of n in words derived from the Egyptian is common (compare

Moph from Menf, Shishak from Sheshonk). Secondly, the Punt ethnologically are on the monuments connected with the Egyptians, Cushites and Canaanites, all of these races being painted with a dark-red color. Thirdly, the early importance of Punt historically is vouched for by the monuments. As early as the eleventh dynasty, a maritime expedition was made to it. Its position, race and importance would, we think, suit all the references made to Phut in the Scriptures. In Ezekiel (xxx, 5; xxxviii, 5), it is mentioned along with Persia and Lud, as all three were likely among the most distant nations known to the prophet. In Jeremiah xlii, 9, it is naturally mentioned along with Cush, which was next neighbor to Punt. Whichever of these three opinions we accept makes no difference in our argument, since all undoubtedly are mentioned on the monuments before the time claimed for the Exodus (see the authorities cited above).

Of Tiras, Dillmann says that "it must, according to its place in the list, lie either east of Meshech, or in a row of its own to the west and south." This suits the position of Cilicia, which was south-west of Tubal and Meshech. May not Tiras be Taurus, or Tarsus? In favor of the former, one might use Brugsch's contention that the Tuirsha of Menephtah II's list are Taurians. In favor of the second are (1) the probability that Tarsus is to be recognized in the Tharshka of Rameses III's list (Brugsch, "History," ii, 152); (2) the fact that in later times the coins of Tarsus bear the letters trz, s and z being sometimes interchanged in the Semitic dialects; (3) the fact that the position of Tarsus on the river Cydnus, near to Cyprus, and not far from two of the great passes of the Taurus, must have caused a city to be built there in very early times. Prof. Schrader and Dr. Winckler think we find Tarsus in the Tarzi mentioned in the inscriptions of Shalmanassur II, who, according to Prof. Hommel, reigned from 859 to 825 B. C. ("K. G. F.," 241; "Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.," p. 589; "Sammlung von Ass. u. Bab. Texten," p. 145). We know, from Shalmanassur's inscriptions, that Tarzi was in the land of Kau, or Cilicia. It seems to have been the chief city of Kau, since, after its capture by Shalmanassur, the Cilicians grasped his feet and gave tribute, and Kati, the king of Kau, was deposed and his brother Karri was made king in his stead.

The second question is as to the names of the nations which can reasonably be supposed to have existed at or before 1300 B. C., such as Javan, Meshech, Madai, Dodanim, Gomer, Uz, Togarmah, Ashkenaz, Magog, and the sons of Mizraim, Cush and Joktan.

Taking them up in order, we find that the only mention of Javan in the Assyrian records is in an inscription of Sargon's (722-705 B. C.), who says that he had drawn out like fish the inhabitants of the land of Javan, which is in the midst of the sea (Schrader, "K. A. T.," 81). Abydenos states that Sennacherib defeated the Greeks in a battle on the Cilician coasts (Eusebius, i, 35). None of the later Assyrian

kings, not even Assurbanipal, who speaks of Gyges of Lydia, mention them; as also do none of the Babylonian kings. In the *Behistun* inscriptions, Darius mentions the Javanese as his subjects, meaning by them the inhabitants of the coast land of Asia Minor. In the edicts of Asoka of the third century B. C., they are called Jona (Kearny, "Outlines of Primitive Belief," p. 163).

In Greek literature it first occurs in the "Iliad," Book xiii, p. 685, where the only epithet applied to them is "with the trailing tunics," and where they appear along with no greater and no less than the Bocotians, Locrians, Phthians and illustrious Epeians. The Ionian invasion of Asia Minor had certainly not occurred before the Trojan war, as "there were no Greeks of Asia Minor at the time" (Gladstone's "Homer," p. 11). "The Ionians of the poem [of Homer] are entirely in the background" (*id.*, p. 13).

It is not till about the middle of the seventh century B. C. that we have any trustworthy account of Ionian cities in Asia Minor, though it is probable, from their importance at that time, that they had been founded some time before. The fact that, for two hundred years, *i. e.*, between 700 and 500, no mention of them occurs in the monuments of the kings of Assyria, Babylonia or Persia, and that before 722 B. C. they are never mentioned, does not prove, however, that they did not exist, and that they were not known by the same name a thousand or more years before this.* Egypt is first mentioned in the Assyrian kings' monuments in those of Tigleth-Pileser I (about 1100 B. C.), yet all admit that Egypt existed more than a thousand years before that and under the name Mitsri (not Mutsri, as later). We find it mentioned in the letters of the kings of Alishiya, Babylon and Midtani to Amenophis III, about 1400 B. C. (see "P. S. B. A.," 1888). However, it is admitted that they were the earliest-developed portion of the Greek nation (Curtius, "Ueber die Ionier vor der ionischen Wanderung")†; that they were the Greek people first known to the Phœnicians, Assyrians, the later Israelites, and the Persians, and that, in the entire Orient, as far as India, their name was that by which the Greeks were known (Lassen, "Indische Alterthumskunde," i, 729 sq.,

*"Bei jenen [ionischen] Colonisten kein Neu Ionien war gegründet, sondern es [war] vielmehr ein altes und ursprüngliches Ionien durch frischen Zuzug edler Geschlechter neu belebt und hergestellt" (Curtius' "Ionier vor der ion. Wand.," p. 5). Again, among the allies against Rameses II, 1350 B. C., we find the Iouna or Maouna mentioned along with the Masa, Lika and Dardani (Chabas' "Études," p. 185). If Iouna is read the Ionians doubtless are meant; but if Maouna, the Maonians, said by Strabo to have been the earliest inhabitants of Lydia. May not the Ma in Maonia be the same as that in Magog, Magan, Mazamua, *et al.*, and mean "land," (see Magog, below). If so, this would mean "land of the Ionians."

†Curtius says: "In allen Theilen des griechischen Landes begegnen wir den unverkennbaren Spuren der Ionier, aber in keinem dieser Plätze sind wir berechtigt ein ursprüngliches Ionien anzunehmen."

and Rüetsehli in "Herzog under Jawan").* Now the question arises as to the age of the word Javan and the extent of its application.

As to the age of the word in its Semitic form, it is to be noted that in Homer the form of the word is *Ιαονες*, and that in later times it was *Ιων*. The original form of the *ao* was doubtless *awa*, and the original form of the word Yawan. It is claimed that they were so called because they were the youngest or fighting branch of the Aryan family, the *v* or *w* being the digamma, and the word being closely connected with *juvenis* (Herzog's "Realencycl.," Art. "Jawan;" Keary, "Outlines of Primitive Belief," p. 163). The digamma must still have been pronounced when the name passed over to the Shemites; since *wa aw* or *awa* contracts naturally into *ô* (compare Hebrew *nakôm* from *nakwan*, Latin *bôs* from *bous*, Syriac *kôm* from *kawam*); but we know of no examples of the contrary (see Curtius, "Greek Etymology," Vol. ii, p. 182, *sq.*, and Roby, "Latin Grammar," Vol. i, pp. xxxvi-xl, and the various Shemitic grammars). Canon Rawlinson says that "Javan is the nearest possible expression in Hebrew of the Greek term which is rendered by Ionians" ("Origin of the Nations," p. 172). This, however, is true only if we suppose that the Hebrews derive the name from the ancient Greek Yawanes.†

Now, since we find the *awa* already, in the time of Homer, contracted into *ao*, the transliteration into Hebrew must have taken place before his time. The question then arises, When was the "Iliad" written? According to Mr. Gladstone ("Homer," p. 11), it was written before the Ionian migration into Asia Minor—before the Ionians had gained (or regained) a prominent position among the Greeks. As we find the Ionians contending on an equal footing with the Lydian kings about the middle of the seventh century B. C., and Javan mentioned by Sargon, 722 B. C., as enemies of his in Asia Minor, and as it must have taken a couple of centuries most probably for them to establish themselves in Asia Minor, the migration could hardly have taken place later than 900 B. C. The Trojan war, as recorded in the "Iliad," must have been written before that time, and the war itself may have occurred as early as 1250 B. C., as tradition asserted.‡ The sudden rise of the Ionians after the composition of the "Iliad" (just as the rise of the Dorians, according to the traditions concerning the Heraclidæ), points to the supposition that they had been suppressed

* Curtius says: "Ist das Wort [Ionier] griechisch, so müssten die seefahrenden Griechen selbst im Gegensatz zu den sesshaften Autochthonen sich die Wandernden genannt haben und dieser Namen von den Phöniziern und Lydiern aufgefasst zu Lande und zu Wasser in Asien eingedrungen sein ("Ionier vor der ion. Wand.," p. 8).

† In the Peshito Syriac New Testament, and in Delitzsch's Hebrew version, Omega is always, we believe—without exception—transliterated into 'Etsotso and Hholem, never resolved into *awa*.

‡ The capture of Troy was "placed by some in the fourteenth, but more commonly in the thirteenth century, till Eratosthenes computed it to have taken place in the year 1183 B. C. (Gladstone, "Homeric Synchronism," p. 13).

for a period, and had recoiled to their previous position of importance after the overthrow of the house of Agamemnon. The Ionians were probably the earliest of the Greek mariners, as is shown by their myths and legends, which are largely Asiatic (Keary, "Dawn of History," p. 204). May it not have been at an early period of prosperity, when they were still called Jawanes, that the Phœnician traders came first to Greece, heard the name, and adopting it as the name for all the Greeks (as the Gauls gave the name of German to the Teutons and the Romans the name of Greek to the Hellenes; see "Encyclopædia Britannica," Arts. "German" and "Hellenes"). Tyre and Sidon, we know, were both in existence as flourishing commercial centres as early as 1608 B. C.* Part of the tribute paid by the Phœnicians to Thothmes III could only have been gotten by commerce, *e. g.*, tin, purple and corals (see Brugsch, "History of Egypt," i, 361). Their tin most probably was brought from Britain through Spain, and this as early as 1200 B. C. certainly, and 1500 probably (Sir John Lubbock, "Prehistoric Man," p. 73). No one can deny that even earlier than this the fleets of the Phœnicians most probably sailed to the nearer shores of Greece, even notwithstanding the negative testimony that no objects of Phœnician art have been found at Mycenæ (compare Gladstone, in an article entitled, "The Phœnician Affinities of Ithaca," in *The Nineteenth Century*, for November, 1889).

Finally, there is positive evidence, both from Egypt and from Greece, that a very early knowledge of each was possessed by the other. Homer knew not merely of Egypt, but of Ethiopia (*id*). On the other hand, among the foreigners who, in 1250 B. C. ("Études," p. 30 sq.), made the naval attack on Egypt, were some called Danau, who, according to Brugsch, were Greeks ("History of Egypt," ii, 116 sq.; Chabas, "Études," p. 30 sq.). By the Phœnicians and Hebrews these Danau and their kindred may have been called Jawan.

Again, as has been hinted at above, there is much to show that Jawan may have been the prehistoric name applied by Hindu and Persian to the tribes who, in the earliest times, left them and wandered westward.† These tribes probably traveled along the southern shore of the Black Sea,‡ and, as they passed, leaving here and there a settlement, they gave their name to the Shemites as the common appellation, the generic name, for the great western branch of the Indo-European family which extended in historic times from Phrygia

* Tyre and Sidon are both mentioned in "P. S. B. A.," for 1888, p. 548, the city of Tyre being called "The spoil of the king."

† Niebuhr says: "Die Verbreitung des ionischen Namens lässt sich nicht wohl mit den gewöhnlichen Vorstellungen von den ionischen Ansiedlungen in Kleinasien vereinigen" ("Vorträge über alte Geschichte," i, p. 273).

‡ Curtius says: "Die ursprüngliche Ansässigkeit der Ionier in Kleinasien ist eine Thatsache auf deren Erkenntniss alle Entdeckungen und Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der alten Geschichte hinleiten müssen" ("Ionier vor der ion. Wanderung," p. 8).

to Spain (Keary, "Dawn of History," p. 204; Sayce, "Ancient Empires of the East," p. 225). Its assumed derivation would certainly admit of an application more extended than to the Greeks only. The Hindus gave it a much wider application, and it seems to us that when we shall consider the names of the sons of Jawan, we shall conclude that the Hebrews also meant by it not Greeks merely, but many other nations as well. In later times, as one tribe after another dropped off from the original stem, the name of Jawan may have been retained by the one tribe which remained.

The earliest mention of Meshech that has so far been discovered is that found on the records of Tiglath-Pileser I, about 1100 B. C. Being, as it was, north-east of Tabal and north of Mitânî, it may have been beyond the circle of Egyptian influence and dominion in the time of Amenophis IV, but most probably its name and people would be known to traders and the fame of it be brought by them to Egypt.*

As to the Madai, there can be no doubt that they are the Medes of classical history and of the later Scriptures. They are first mentioned on Assyrian monuments of Rammannirari (812-783 B. C.) as Madai, though this is perhaps the same as the Matai of Samsiramman and the Amadai of Shalmanassar II (see Schrader, "K. A. T.," p. 80, and "K. G. F.," p. 171).

George Rawlinson, in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," finds traces of the name in the Matini of Mount Zagros, mentioned often by Herodotus, which is the same as the Mitânî of the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, 1120 B. C., and of the Tel-Amarna inscriptions, 1400 B. C., where Tushratta, king of Mitânî, styles himself the father-in-law of the Egyptian king, and writes frequent letters to him (see "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," June, 1888, p. 554 *sq.*).

Berosus says that the Medes conquered Babylon about 2500 B. C., and reigned there for 224 years (*ap.* Eusebius' "Chron.," Can. i, 4; Winckler, "Untersuchungen," Essay 1). Herodotus says that the Sigynnæ of Thrace claimed in his time that they were colonists of Medes, though how they came to be there he will not attempt to say ("Her.," 5.9). "Ctesias asserts (*ap.* 'Diod., Sic.,' ii, 1, § 9) and Herodotus distinctly implies (i, 95) that they had been settled in Asia at least from the time of the first formation of the Assyrian empire, B. C. 1273" (Prof. George Rawlinson, in "S. B. Dict.," Art. "Medes").

The fact that they are not mentioned on the Assyrian monuments

* Tiglath-Pileser I says that the kings of Meshech had been bringing tribute to his lord, Ashur, for fifty years before they revolted against him. Ina shurru sharrutiya XXM ameluti Mushkaaya u V sharranishunu sha L shanati Alzi u Purukuz(?)zi naash belti u madaatte sha Ashur beliya itsbatuni XXX urduni Kummuchi itsbatu (Tiglath-Pileser I, Col. i, 62 *sq.*; see "Sammlung von ass. u. bab. Texten," p. 18). This seems to prove that Meshech had been tributary to Assyria since 1150 B. C.

till about 880 B. C. does not prove that they were unknown, much less that they did not exist. They were probably too powerful for the Assyrians of an earlier date to attack. Tiglath-Pileser I's wars were many, but they were mainly conducted against the small cities and tribes of Mesopotamia and Armenia (see his own inscriptions, published by Lotz). His not mentioning Egypt or Cush does not prove that he knew not of them, but that he did not conquer them in battle; much more would this be true with Media also. There are unmistakable traces of old empires with a tolerably high degree of civilization in Bactria and the Iranian lands. Nothing would be more natural than that these empires should invade at times, even as far back as Berosus puts his Median dynasty, the rich lowlands of Babylonia. The expression "Medes" may have been, as Nöldeke suggests, a geographical, not an ethnographical designation; but in view of the late revelations of the extent of the Egyptian conquests in Asia centuries before the age of Moses, and of their consequent geographical knowledge which Moses could have learned in Egypt; as also in view of the varied knowledge of the neighboring nations possessed by the Babylonians before the time when Abraham is supposed to have lived, and which he would have brought with him from Ur; and in view of the fact that the existence of Nineveh itself bears witness that, from the beginning of history, a rich and extensive commerce was carried on with the inhabitants of the Iranian lands, which commerce would necessarily bring with it a knowledge of Media, the nearest of all great countries; and in view, finally, of the statement of Berosus and of the finding last year on monuments dating 1400 B. C. of other names of nations in this list which were hitherto supposed not to have existed as early as the time of Moses, because mention of them had not been found on the monuments—it requires an assumption of knowledge which cannot be justified, for any one to deny that the Medes existed in the time of Abraham or that their name and fame could have been known to Moses, whether by study, tradition, or caravan's report.

For the word Dodanim there are three readings: (1) Dodanim in the Hebrew of Gen. x; (2) Rodanim in the Hebrew of 1 Chron. i, 7—for which the LXX in both Gen. x, 4, and 1 Chron. i, 7, has Rodioi; (3) Doranim in the Syriac Peshito (Oroomiah edition) both in Gen. x, 4 and 1 Chron. i, 7. This is obviously a correction for the sake of clearing up the difficulties connected with the other readings.

1. As to Dodanim, a few of those who hold it to be the true reading, believe that they find the name in Dodona, the well-known city of Epirus, which, according to Homer, was the oldest oracle in Greece. But most maintain that by it the Dardanians are meant (*ar*, as Knobel has shown, goes over frequently into *ô*). The Trojans were Dardanians, and it was the tribes of the Dardanians who, under Æneas and others, were the closest allies of the Trojans in their war against Greece ("Iliad," ii, end, and xx, 215 *sq.*). The Hellenes looked upon the

Dardanians as Greeks, and their language was related to that of the Greeks (Knobel, "Völkertafel," 106). This would account for their being classed as sons of Javan. As to the antiquity of the Dardanians we cannot speak with certainty; but since there can be little doubt that the Dardani mentioned as being among the allies of Kheta-sir in his war against Rameses II were the same as the Dardanians of Homer, we must put their date earlier than 1300 B. C. (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," ii, 59).^{*} But if the Dardani of Pentaur's poem be different from the Dardanians, they may still be the same as the Dodanim of Gen. x. There were Dardanians in Kurdistan, as Brugsch suggests ("History of Egypt," ii, 44), whom we take to be the same as the Dardanians who are said by Herodotus to have lived near the Maticenian mountains (i, 189; see also Rawlinson's note in his "Herodotus," i, 252), in the time of Cyrus; but from the fact that the reading of Herodotus is here in doubt, the existence of the Kurdish Dardanians is consequently uncertain, and from the fact of the importance of the Dardanians in the "Iliad" and their widespread settlements (Knobel, "Völkertafel," 104; "Encyclopædia Britannica," xx, 540), it would be safe to conclude that the Dardani of Pentaur's poem are the Dardanians of Homer and the Dodanim of Gen. x, provided that Dodanim be the correct reading.

2. As to the reading Rodamin, which the LXX explained as meaning the Rhodians, Dillmann, who holds this to be the correct reading, maintains that Rhodes and the islands of the Ægean sea are meant (comment. *in loc.*). Rhodes was known to Homer ("Iliad," ii, 654). The Phœnicians came thither at an early date, as is shown by the legends of the Greeks and by the custom of human sacrifices to Cronus, which were long kept up there. When the Phœnicians came to Rhodes cannot be determined with certainty. They were already a commercial nation before 1600 B. C., as is shown by the tribute paid by them to Thothmes III (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," i, 316 *sq.*). Before the tenth century B. C. they had colonies in Thera and Milos, and had begun to work the mines of Thasos (see Schliemann's "Troja," xxiii). According to Socin, the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the island of Rhodes were Carians and Cretans (Art. "Phœnicia," in "Encyclopædia Britannica," xviii, 819; Thucyd., i, 8; Knobel, 96-100). The Carians were probably closely allied in history and language to the Hellenes (Knobel, "Völkertafel," 101). "That they were in very early times a powerful and war-like people, distinguished for their maritime skill and enterprise, may be considered as clearly proved, and was indeed a natural result of the configuration of their coasts. It is probable that they were originally established on the continent, and from there extended their power over the islands of the Ægean" (E. H. Bunbury, in "Encyclopædia Britannica," v, 91). As

^{*} According to Brugsch ("History of Egypt," ii, 125), the name of Dardani, which is mentioned in the campaigns of Rameses II, is preserved in Egypt in the name of the city of Dardanis.

to the Cretans, we know that, according to tradition, they first held the dominion of the sea. In the Homeric poems they appear as a sea-faring people ("Odyssey," xiv, 199). The position of their island gave them peculiar facilities for communication with Egypt and Phœnicia ("Encyclopædia Britannica," vi, 504). If we accept the Trojan war and the traditions which place it at about 1250 B. C. as fact, we shall have no difficulty, in view of the above-mentioned facts, in believing that Rhodes existed before 1300 B. C., and that a knowledge of it could easily have been brought to Egypt before that time.

Gomer is first mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions of the time of Esarhaddon, under the name of Gimmirrai=Kimmirians (comp. "K. A. T.," 80).

Herodotus mentions them (iv, 11 sq.). Homer places them at the limits of the world, in a land and city shrouded in mist and cloud, where deadly night is outspread over miserable mortals ("Od.," xi, 12 sq.). They dwelt to the north of the Black Sea, and some think that the Crimea received its name from them. They are said to have desolated Asia Minor prior to the time of Homer, the third century before the first Olympiad (Sayce, "Ancient Empires," 217). In another invasion, about 700 B. C., they conquered Sardis, the capital of Lydia, in the reign of Ardys ("Encyclopædia Britannica," v, 682).

"Nothing certain can be said respecting their national character and language" (Del. to Gen. x, 2). The Greeks confounded them with the Cimbri (Dill, *in loc.*). Others have thought that they were the same as the Cymry of Wales and Ireland (Knobel, "Die Völkertafel der Genesis," 28). Canon Rawlinson says: "They have been probably identified with the Cimbri of Roman times, a portion of the great Celtic race" (see "The Origin of Nations," pp. 170, 171). But how did a knowledge of these reach the Hebrews? Neither Gomer or Cimmerians are mentioned by this name in the Egyptian monuments.

It is a remarkable fact, however, that Caucaso-Colchian mercenaries are found in the Libyan armies which threatened Egypt in the days of Menephtah II and Rameses III (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," ii, 123, 140).

How they came to Egypt, we know not. They may have come by sea. Lenormant holds that "one perceives by the inscriptions upon the stela of Thebes that the fleets of the great Pharaoh, after having first conquered Cyprus and Crete, had further subjected to his sceptre the islands of the Southern Archipelago and conquered a portion of the seaboard and even, perhaps, the lower extremity of Italy. It appears to me that one ought to conclude from some monuments that the war vessels of Thothmes III penetrated pretty frequently into the waters of the Black Sea" (Lenormant, "Manual d'Histoire Anc.," i, 386, 387).

If we reject, with Rawlinson ("History of Egypt," ii, 256 sq.), this claim of Lenormant as to the extent of Thothmes III's maritime power, we must admit that, if his power extended to the islands of the

archipelago, as Birch maintains ("Anc. Ag.," p. 100), or even to Cyprus and the Phœnician coast, as all with Brugsch must conclude ("History of Egypt," i, 371, 372), he could have sailed to Colchis.

The Phœnicians, but a short time after this, sailed to Britain, founding colonies all the way. Remains of ancient Egyptian art have been found in Mycenæ, and there are indications of prehistoric relations existing between Mycenæ and Egypt (Gladstone, in Schliemann's "Mycenæ," vii), as well as between Greece and Colchis and Libya (see Art. "Argonauts," "Encyclopædia Britannica," ii, 437).

But it is more probable that they were prisoners of war brought by Rameses II or Thothmes III from Asia to Egypt in one of their military expeditions. In later times, we know that the transference of nations was customary with the Assyrians ("K. A. T.," 256), and, according to Herod., ii, 104, the Egyptians believed that the Colchians of his day were descended from the army of Sesostris. Like the Argonauts, or Cretans, or Phœnicians, of later times ("Odyssey," xiv, 199 *sq.*; "Herod.," i, 1-3), they may have come as marauders, just as the Cari-Colchians who were defeated by Rameses III in the great battle of Migdol, at the mouth of the Pelusiæ branch of the Nile (Brugsch, "History of Egypt," ii, 147). But, however they may have come to Egypt, there were in the time of Menephtah II, just at the time of Moses. Caucasian settlements in Egypt, through which a knowledge of the nations around the Black Sea must have been conveyed to Egypt and could easily have been brought to Moses. The collective name among the Hebrews for the eight tribes mentioned in the monuments of Menephtah II may have been Gomer.

But after what has been shown above with regard to Tubal, and when it is remembered that Elam, though well known to the Hebrews in Abraham's time, is not mentioned on the Egyptian monuments, it seems best for us to accept the traditional view as to the antiquity of the name and nation of Gomer until it is shown to be untenable.

Uz has been identified with the Khazu of Esarhaddon's inscriptions (Rawlinson, "Anc. Monarchies," ii, 470; "Origin of the Nations," p. 242). The inscription reads: "Twenty kasbu of the land of Khazu I left behind me, and I passed through that district" (Budge, "History of Esarhaddon," p. 61). The Ayin of Uz can be transliterated by Kheth in Assyrian (compare Omri, *et al.*). The country of Bazu, *i. e.*, the Buz of the Scriptures, is mentioned by Esarhaddon immediately before and immediately after his mention of Khazu ("History of Esarhaddon," pp. 59, 65). He says that he had appointed Yahlu, son of Khazael of Arabia, the country of Bazu, a desert, thirsty, and a stony land. It has lately been suggested that this land of Bazu may be meant by the Bit-Bazi of Berosus' fifth dynasty, which, according to Gutschmid, reigned over Babylon from 1518 to 1273 B. C. Dr. Hugo Winckler says: "Die drei Herrscher der Dynastie f wurden Söhne des Bazi genannt. Damit scheint ihr Vater oder wenigstens ihre Familie bezeichnet zu werden; wenn wir aber

annehmen, dass Berossus hier einmal anders combinirt, als wir es thun, so eröffnet sich eine sehr verlockend erscheinende Aussicht. Bit-Bazi kann man ebenso gut als einen Ländernamen auffassen; danach könnte man die Dynastie (meinetwegen irrthümlich) als eine Dynastie von Bit-Bazi auffassen" ("Untersuchungen zur Altorient. Geschichte," p. 5 sq.). Now, if Buz existed 800 years before Esarhaddon, so may Uz, which is so generally associated with it. That Uz is not mentioned between Esarhaddon and Ptolemy, or the LXX (*i. e.*, if the *Ἀσῆται* of the former and the *Ἀσῆτιδι* of the latter, in Job i, 1, be accepted as the same as Uz, or Khazu), would be as strong an argument for the non-existence of Uz during that time, as a failure to find mention of it for the 600 years preceding Esarhaddon would prove that it did not exist 1300 B. C. Uz would more likely be known in Egypt, or to Moses in Midian, than Buz, because, according to Esarhaddon ("History," p. 59 sq.), it was farther from Assyria and hence nearer to Egypt.

By Togarmah, some have thought that the Germans were meant; but this is impossible, as much because of the origin of the name German (see "Encyclopædia Britannica," Art. "Germans"), as from the position accorded in the Scriptures to Togarmah, which is mentioned as a neighbor of Javan, Tubal and Meshech (Ezek. xxvii, 14), and in connection with Gomer (Ezek. xxxviii, 6), and is most probably to be looked for in or near Armenia. Grimm's theory that the word is derived from toka, the Sanskrit for tribe, and armah, agrees with this supposition, which Canon Rawlinson thinks "may well be accepted" ("Origin of the Nations," p. 183; "Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache," ii, 825). Friedrich Delitzsch thinks it may be the Tul-garimme of the cuneiform inscriptions. In 712 B. C., Sargon conquered a new province in the vicinity of Urartu and Muski, whose capital was Tul-garimme, which was probably also the name of a province.* If it were of equal importance with Kammanu before Sargon's time, as, according to Dr. Winckler, it may have been, we see no good reason why, with Meshech, it could not have existed in the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, or with Tabal in the time of Amenophis IV. May it not, however, be possible that some trace of the name may still be found in the Gurans, or Southern Kurds, who still inhabit the country around Mount Zagros? The earliest inhabitants of this land were Turanians, and the modern Kurds are largely Turanian (Art. "Kurds," "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. xiv, 158; Hommel, "Gesch. Bab. u. Assyrien," p. 601). The "gar" which occurs in Gurau means "mountain" ("Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. xiv, 158). The "ma" of Togarmah is the early Turanian word for "land," which is generally prefixed, as in Magau, Magog, Magamna; but in

* Dr. Hugo Winckler says, in his "Sargon," Einleitung, p. xxix, note 5: "Für eine Identificirung von Togarmah und Tul-garimmu beachte man den Text genau. Tul-garimmu wird als mit Kammanu gleichwichtig behandelt, muss also wol ein bedeutendes Stadtgebiet gehabt oder erhalten haben; jedenfalls wurde es Hauptstadt der neuen Provinz, welche nun wol Tul-garimmu genannt wurde."

Elamitic, and perhaps in other dialects, is suffixed (Hommel, "Geschichte Bab. u. Assyrien," p. 589 sq.). Garma might then be the land of the mountains or highlands. As to the "to," it may be the Egyptian article, as in to-neter; but it is better to take it as a possible transliteration of the z, which we find in Za-gros. The s of Zagros is the Greek nominal ending. Za-gar, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson, means "beyond the mountains." Togarmah would then be the "land beyond the mountains." As to the possibility of z passing through Egyptian into t, see Mariette, "Les Listes Géographiques," pp. 6, 7.

The fact that Ashkenaz is mentioned in Jer. li, 27, along with Minni and Ararat, fixes its locality as being in the vicinity of Armenia. Lagarde says that Ashken is a proper name and az a patronymic ending in Armenian ("Gesamm. Abhandlungen," p. 254). Since, in Esarhaddon's expedition against the Gimmerai, he mentions along with the inhabitants of Minni the country of the Asguzai, some have thought that the name and position of the latter prove their identity with the Askenaz of the text (Budge, "Esarhaddon," pp. 46, 47). If this identification be accepted, the fact that the Asguzai are now first and for the only time mentioned on known monuments certainly does not prove that they did not exist before this time any more than it proves that they did not exist after this time. Other monumental records not yet read may mention them, but more probably they were so distant and inaccessible that, like the Khazi and Bazi mentioned above, the Assyrian monarchs, and the Egyptian as well, were never again brought into direct contact with them, and hence, according to their custom, do not inscribe on their monuments so much as their names. It has been thought by some that the name can be recognized in the river and the lakes in Asia Minor called Ascanius. If so, their name and their nation must have been widely scattered long before Esarhaddon's time, and a knowledge of them could easily have reached Egypt through commercial channels or from travelers. Are we to suppose that the travels of the Mohar and the records of the voyage to Punt and the letters of Tel-el-Amarna are the only ones that were ever written?

Magog is thought by Gesenius to mean the Scythians, though others have supposed that it is purely a geographical term (W. L. B., in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible"). It is generally thought to denote the Caucasus or the Caucasians. Brugsch thinks the Caucasians are the Kaikasha of the inscriptions of Menephtah and Rameses III ("History of Egypt," ii, 124). Before Menephtah's time, according to him, they occupied the whole of the delta as far as Cyrene (*id.*, 125). He asks if they may not be prisoners of war brought by Rameses II from Asia. Homer mentions a people called Kankones. They lived over the sea, and he speaks of them along with Karians, Pelasgoi, Lykians and Mysians. In the confederacy against Rameses II, the Dardani, Leka (Lycians) and Masu (Mysians?) are mentioned as allies of the king of the Hittites (Chabas, "Récherches," p. 48).

Under Rameses III, the Shardanas (Sardinians) and Kahak or Kaikasha (which, according to Chabas' "Récherehes," p. 55, are the same) are represented as quiet (*id.*, 71). The Sardinians are allies of the Achaians and Leucrians and Pelasgoi (*id.*, 37). We thus see a possibility, perhaps even a probability, of identifying the Kaukones of Homer and the Kahaks or Kaikasha of the Egyptian inscriptions. If, however, we accept Brugseh's identification of the Kaikasha with the Caucasiens and the common opinion that Magog is the Caucasus, we can easily see that Moses could have mentioned them. If neither the Kaukones, nor the Kahaks, nor the Kaikashas, are the Caucasiens, the latter might still have become known to the Egyptians; first, certainly and directly, if the expedition of Thothmes III reached as far, and especially if he founded a colony in Colchis, as Herodotus reports; secondly, through the Phœnician traders; or, thirdly, through prisoners of war or invaders from the north who were settled all along the coast of the delta. The *ma* of Magog has long been supposed to mean land. See above under Kittim and Togarmah. Shalmanassar II speaks of a land called *Ma-Zamua*, which is elsewhere called land of *Zamua*, to which Prof. Hommel remarks: "Zu beachten ist noch der aloridische Vorsatz *Ma* vor *Zamna* in dem einen Bericht (wo der andere einfach *Zamua* hat) was offenbar Land bedeutet" ("Geschichte Bab. u. Assyrien," p. 597). So Friedrich Delitzsch contends that the *ma* of Magog means "land" ("Paradies," p. 246).

As to the names not discussed as yet, it may be said (1) that Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim present the same difficulties against making the account to be written in David's, or at a later time, that they do to one who would hold that it was written 1300 B. C. (2) If we take Ebers' views, the sons of Mizraim can be identified with names well known in the time of Rameses II (see "Ägypten u. die Bücher Moses," Vol. i, pp. 91-218, and Lepsius' article in "Herzog" on "Ägypten"). If we do not accept his views, we cannot see how a lack of knowledge as to what is meant by them is an argument for a late rather than for an early date for the chapter. Is it not a sensible view to suppose that the Israelites, while in Egypt, would be more interested in the sons of Mizraim than at any subsequent time? They may have called these sons by the same or by different names from those with which the Egyptians denoted them. The Semitic languages, so far as we know, present no traces of the common Egyptian names, Zahi, Asebi, Shashu, Tehennu, Mashuashas and many others, while the Egyptians do not use Mizraim, Aram, and perhaps not Canaanite. Besides it was a custom to give the same name to different extents of territory (see Meyer, "Gesch. von Ägypten," on Zahi, p. 240; on Rutenun, p. 226. See also the Einleitung to Winckler's "Sargon," p. xxix, on Tul-garimme, and Esarhaddon's treatment of Yahlu. Compare "History of Esarhaddon," by Budge). Different names were given by the Egyptians themselves to the same territory (see Meyer, "Geschichte," p. 228, on Shasu and Menti, and

Chabas, "Recherches," p. 59 *sq.*, and frequent instances in his "Études"). If, however, it were claimed that in order to maintain that this enumeration of the sons of Mizraim was written 1300 B. C., we must identify the names with such as are found on the Egyptian monuments at that time, we can only answer with an *et tu Brute*: "Before you can expect us to believe that this enumeration was written a couple of hundred years before or after 700 B. C., it might be well to find some more evident similarities between the names in it and those given in Assurbanipal's account of his Egyptian campaign" (see "Annals of Assurbanipal," col. i, l. 90 *sq.*, V. R., Table I).

(3) There are so few notices of any of the sons of Cush or Joktan, and so few of them have certainly been identified, that we think that no argument as to their antiquity can well be made at present. So far as published, the discoveries made in Arabia by Douhet, Euting and others have thrown no light upon those of these names which were hitherto obscure (see Prof. Sayce, in the last two numbers of the *Academy*, for September, 1889). Upon some of the names, however, we would like to have the following questions answered: May not Seba be the Sauu of the "Völkertafel," p. 55? This name is mentioned as early as the time of Usartesen III, of the twelfth dynasty. According to Meyer, it was a mountain district; according to others, an important sea-port on the Red Sea (see Meyer, "Gesch. von Ägypten," p. 184). May not Havilah be the town or district called Auhul, in Rameses II's time (see "Les Listés Géog.," p. 62, and "Die altäg. Völkertafel," p. 60)? May not Sabtah be the Asbitæ who were among the peoples that attacked Egypt in the reign of Rameses III, along with the Libyans (Brugsch, "History," ii, 141)? Their name is spelt Sptti, and it is said of them that they "lie to the west of the mountains of the oasis of Farafrāh" ("Die altäg. Völkertafel," p. 74). Though on the monuments as yet discovered, Sheba is mentioned first in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, is it not wise, in view of what has been found out about Tabal (see above), to refuse to accept this mere negative testimony as settling the antiquity of a nation? This general remark may be made upon the sons of Mizraim, Cush and Joktan, that a man living all his life in Egypt and Arabia would be much more likely to have more accurate information about them than any one of whatever age who had not done so. The Arabs before 1300 B. C. sent caravans to Egypt, which would pass through Midian (Chabas, "Recherches," p. 61). As Meyer remarks, the Bedwin were the commercial middlemen between Syria and Egypt ("Geschichte von Äg.," p. 228), so that a man living among them would have a knowledge of all nations of whose commercial products they were cognizant. At any rate, it is best for us who attempt to criticise the antiquity of this record of the sons of Cush and Joktan and Mizraim to remember that that may be true of each of them which Chabas says is true of Ponn and Toneter: "Nous sommes probablement moins avancés dans la connaissance de

cette région qu'on ne l'était à l'époque de Rameses III. Il y a un vaste champ d'explorations fécondes " (*Études*," p. 61).

(4) As to Gether we can only ask if it may not be the city mentioned on the tablet transcribed and translated in "*T. S. B. A.*," 1888, p. 494?

(5) As to the other names mentioned in this chapter, nothing is known from external sources.

IV. The names of the nations important in the later history of Israel, or of the surrounding nations, and that yet are omitted from this list, prove its early composition. The omission of India, Sinim and Persia prove conclusively that it was written before 550 B. C.; the omission of Minni (Man) and Cutha and Sepharvaim and Carchemish, and the lands of Ararat (Urartu), Meliddu, Kui and Dilmun, that it was written before 750 B. C.; while the omission of Sobah, Tadmor, Tiphseh, Maachah, Geshur, and of Laki, Kummuch, Nairi and Patinai, and the subordinate position given to Sheba and Ophir, and the failure of any mention of so many of these countries in the numerous records which we have from the time between 1000 and 750 B. C., all push back the date of the composition of the chapter to a period preceding the age of David and Solomon (see on the above the annals of Assurbanipal, Esarhaddon, Sargon, Assurnatsirabal, Tiglath-Pileser I and others).

Do not these facts, together with the facts and probabilities of the preceding heads, justify the position of those who maintain that the tenth chapter of Genesis may, at least, have been written as early as 1300 B. C.? Do they not show, further, that, as far as our knowledge goes at present, this chapter was more probably written then than at any other time?

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

ALLEGHENY.

VII.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES.

ROBERT BROWNING.

ONE-AND-TWENTY years ago Browning began his "Ring and the Book" with a sort of inscription to the people of England, saying:

"Well, British Public, ye who like me not,
(God love you !)"

and closed it with a kind of *l'envoy*:

"So, British Public, who may like me yet,
(Marry and amen !)"

In these one-and-twenty years the "British Public" has, perhaps, not learned to like or love the name of Robert Browning any better than it did. To the great mass of English readers, to the great mass of readers of English, the poetry of Browning is still, except for a few poems which have forced themselves into the ears and hearts of young and old, a sealed book. But the attitude of the literary world has changed towards it. A man to-day can as little pretend to culture without some knowledge of Browning as without some knowledge of Shakespeare. Societies have sprung up everywhere for the study and elucidation of his poetry. That these societies have done the poet some injury, finding difficulties where no difficulties were to be discovered, discovering beauties which no honest eye can recognize, is true. But, on the other hand, they have kept the poet in the strong light of public scrutiny, and no poet can stand such scrutiny better. The cult which they have built up has a ridiculous side, but it has not rendered Browning, nor his poems, ridiculous. The worst that has been done has been to mystify that class of readers who read reviews instead of books and take their opinions at second hand.

Born at Camberwell, London, in 1812, Browning at a very early age felt and expressed his conviction of his poetic calling. He had little in common with most youthful poets. He began his career as a serious business, and to the day of his death his view of it never changed. In 1833, shortly before the attainment of his majority, he published "Pauline," a long narrative poem. This was followed, in 1835, by "Paracelsus," which for want of a better term we call a drama. In 1837, came the historical drama, "Strafford;" in 1840, the strange epos, "Sordello;" in 1841, the exquisite little lyrical drama,

"Pippa Passes;" in 1842, "King Victor and King Charles." It was evident that Browning believed his genius was dramatic and that his true field was the drama. Up to this time, a period of nine years, he had mainly devoted himself to it. In the fruit of these years a casting about for a suitable form is marked. "Pauline" was a dramatic narrative; "Paracelsus" scarcely more than a narrative poem in dialogue; "Strafford" and "King Victor and King Charles" fell into the form of the legitimate drama; while "Pippa Passes" was merely a series of dramatic episodes strung on a tenuous thread of connection, the little maid Pippa serving as a very modified lyrical chorus to introduce and unite the wholly disjointed parts. "Paracelsus" had strength, but lacked congruity; it contained splendid bursts of song and fragments of speech, but it was prolix and turgid. It was full of promise—but promise of what? It was only in "Pippa Passes" that the poet at all fulfilled this promise, till, in 1842, he published the first of his "Dramatic Lyrics." The mark touched by these poems was high. The poet had found his congenial form, and thenceforth his best work took the form of short poems, dramatic in nature, and either narrative or lyrical in form. These appeared under various names: "Dramatic Romances" (1845), "Men and Women" (1855), "Dramatis Personæ" (1864), "Dramatic Idylls" (1879, 1880); but they were all closely akin in form and character.

It took some time to convince Browning that the legitimate drama was not his proper sphere. He published a series of dramas from 1843 to 1846, one of which, "A Blot in the Scutcheon," is a beautiful poem, and came very near, despite obvious faults, succeeding on the stage. In 1846, he practically abandoned this form of composition, passing from "A Soul's Tragedy," by no very violent transition, to a new series of contemplative, semi-religious poems, of which "Christmas Eve" and "Easter Day," published together in 1850, were the first, as they were the best. After touching his highest point in the "fifty poems" of "Men and Women," he still continued down to a few months of his death 'active composition. "The Ring and the Book," his most voluminous composition, appeared in 1868-9. The most notable work of his later years was a series of transcripts from the Greek dramatists, "Balaustion's Adventure," "The Alkestis" (1871); "Aristophanes' Apology," the "Herakles" (1875); and the "Agamemnon" (1877).

As a thinker, Browning was richly furnished. He possessed largeness of view, coupled with very sharp insight into character. His mind was vigorous, sturdy and often touched with a nobleness of conception which in itself is poetic. His capacity for projecting his thoughts in the form of pictures before his own mind, and, consequently, before his readers, was great. His processes were, indeed, largely intellectual; his emotions, too largely of intellectual inducement. What he chiefly lacked on this side of his character was clear-

ness of thinking. Without clearness of thought, lucidity of expression is impossible. That he could think and write clearly he proved over and over again. This want of clearness of thought seems, therefore, to have been the result of mental sloth, not of incapacity. Browning's genius was not "the power of taking infinite pains." It is astonishing how often his best work is marred by lapses of a sort which show mere want of pains. Again, he was often led astray by the indulgence of intellectual subtlety. He could never resist the temptation to introduce a recondite allusion, or a remote spiritual analogy. This mental trait was greatly increased and exaggerated by a slovenly composition of his sentences, which was chronic with him, and a habit of introducing into the thread of his narrative parenthetical references to every subject in any wise suggested by the story. Judged by Goethe's law, that the master of style is known by what he omits, Browning falls very low. In all things, great and small, he had no experimental knowledge of "self-restraint."

To his natural qualities of mind he added much of acquirement. We may well believe that the vast mass of apparent learning in his poems is somewhat illusive. He was a man of high culture, of great knowledge of the world, and had a natural taste for the by-ways of literature and art. From these by-ways he drew a swarm of comparatively obscure characters, and made them the *dramatis personæ* of his poems. That he knew much more than common, because he possessed uncommon knowledge, was a natural inference, but only an inference.

As an artist, Browning valued substance far above form.

"This poet's a Browning; he neglects the form,"

he says himself. He can hardly be justified in this. That poetic thought is the first and most important element in poetry is true. But poetry is poetic thought expressed in poetic form. To express noble thoughts in halting metre is to mar the thought and not to glorify the metre. Beautiful and idealized as are the dreams of De Quincey, they are not poetry; much of Browning's writing is not poetry, nor yet is it prose. It is a monstrous birth, a lovely soul in a deformed and shapeless body. In this he lacked the instinct of the true artist. Despite this, Browning the poet often burst the shackles consciously riveted by Browning the man and soared into the finest of poetic flights. While we find lyric themes treated in blank verse, stately movements made to mince in choppy lines, and worse solecisms even than these, his verse is full of noble poetry—"sometimes singing and he has many tunes, sometimes talk, far above singing."

So much for Robert Browning the man. If some kindly spirit would blot out a great part of his poetry, leaving us "Pippa Passes," "Men and Women," the best of his other short dramatic poems and an individual poem here and there, there would be enough and to spare to entitle him to a seat among the immortals. A poet has a

right to be judged by the best of his writings, not by the general average. Only by such a rule can the position of some of our greatest poets, notably Wordsworth, be sustained. Taking then the best of his work, we have more than enough to fill two large volumes; one volume, "Men and Women," the fruit of his mature manhood, standing entire as his most characteristic and best work. In these poems we read the poet's method and mark his measure of attainment.

The dramatic element is nearly constant, but it is subjective rather than objective. Even in his most striking situations, the act loses its significance in the greater significance of its motive. The love of psychological rather than material phenomena is written into every one of his poems. The three poems dealing with early Christian history well illustrate this. "The Death in the Desert" deals with the death of John the Evangelist; "The Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," gives, in a letter to a brother physician, an account of the raising of Lazarus; and "Cleon" presents, also in an epistle, the views of a Neo-Platonist on immortality and redemption, and the bearing of Paul's preaching on these themes. The poet adopts the form of monologue, making his characters speak, while he seeks to

"Enter each and all, and use their service,
Speak from every mouth, the speech a poem."

They all reveal a rare power of mental analysis, with the mastery of the current of thought of the times which is the *sine qua non* of dramatic representation. Their aim is, of course, didactic—in the sense that the Greek drama is didactic; their method is, naturally, philosophical. In most of Browning's poems the philosophy is pure and lofty, empirical largely, for it is impossible to trace his connection with any school. Its expression varies greatly. Here he simply speaks the sentiments of his characters, permitting the speakers to develop and present the stories and leaving the reader to read the moral into them. This is undoubtedly his purest and best method of teaching. In other poems, he has a trick of throwing in, by way of parenthesis, brief comments to point the moral. These glosses are often more difficult to explain than the poems they are meant to elucidate. Thus, in "The Statue and the Bust," the moral has afforded subject for endless discussion as to the tendency of Browning's ethics. There is good reason to think that this moral has generally been misunderstood, but be that as it may, it is safe to say that the ethical teaching of Browning's poems is high and pure. His love for the good, the true and the beautiful is pronounced; his certainty of the place of retribution in God's plan is quite characteristic. Thus he says:

"There may be heaven—there must be hell,"

and speaks with hearty praise of

"Dante, who loved well, because he hated,
Hated wickedness which hinders loving."

There is no end to the striking passages which might be cited to show his hearty evangelical Christian attitude. Perhaps one of the little poems, collectively called "Ben Karshook's Wisdom," illustrates the trend of his teaching as well as a dozen fragments could :

" ' Would a man 'scape the rod ?'
 Rabbi Ben Karshook saith,
 ' See that he turn to God
 The day before his death.'

 ' Ay, could a man inquire
 When it shall come !' I say :
 The Rabbi's eye shoots fire—
 ' Then let him turn to-day.' "

The prelude to the second series of "Dramatic Idylls" is another bit of wholesome teaching, expressed in one of the forms which Browning affected, a form lacking in elegance and dignity, but, in the eyes of the "initiate," not lacking in vigor.

" ' You are sick, that's sure '—they say ;
 ' Sick of what ?'—they disagree.
 ' 'Tis the brain '—thinks Dr. A.,
 ' 'Tis the heart '—holds Dr. B.,
 ' The liver—my life I'd lay !'
 ' The lungs !' ' The lights !'
 Ah me !

" ' So ignorant of man's whole
 Of bodily organs plain to see—
 So sage and certain, frank and free,
 About what's under lock and key—
 Man's soul !' "

A broad optimism underlies his philosophy—an optimism which is consistent with man's total depravity; which rests on God's sovereignty, especially His sovereign love. Christian optimism and a broad humanity are practically synonymous. Hence, we find him battling bravely for the oppressed, the hated and the misconstrued, and exposing fraud. How pitiless is his dissection of Schwangau, the political charlatan; of Sludge, the social impostor; of Blougram, the clerical cheat. His scalpel is used with dextrous skill; the result is better suited to the lover of psychological studies than of poetry. These qualities of his mind, taken in connection with the catholicity of his intellectual sympathies, have led some to compare him with Shakespeare; but Browning lacks the power to put off the poet and be all the man.

Finally, his poetry is full of manliness. Virility, is the word; but the frequent use of that noble word in defense of the fleshly school has deprived it of some of its old ring. Browning knows that true manhood blends purity with power, and tenderness with strength. So his poetry is bracing and has the tonic quality of keen mountain

air and of the fresh salt breeze. It affords a wholesome corrective to the supersensuousness of the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood on the one hand, and the chaos of Whitman on the other. I had almost said to the cult of "art for art sake," also. But Tennyson has taught us how soul and body can be harmonized in one rich synthesis, art framing a perfect form for the loftiest conceptions. So perhaps what we most long for in Browning's poetry is a little "art for art's sake." Not in the depraved sense which seeks to justify French or Russian immorality, but simply as a matter of form. For it is the want of such artistic power which deprives Browning of popular applause, and which will eventually deprive him of the rank which he might have won by persistent pursuit of the art of poetic expression.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.

EXEGETICAL NOTES ON THE PSALMS.

3. PSALM VIII, 2.

כִּפִּי עֹלָלִים וַיּוֹנְקִים יְסֻדָּתִי לְמַעַן צִוְּרִיךְ
לְהַשְׁבִּית אוֹיֵב וּמִתְנַקֵּם :

Of the praises of children, even babes unweaned hast Thou founded a fortress
for response to Thy foes,
To silence the hating and vengeful.

The former of the above lines presents an interesting study in Hebrew expression.

The central and controlling element in the clause is *yissatdā 'ōz* (יְסֻדָּתִי); R. V., *hast Thou established strength*. But the verb *yāsad* always signifies *to lay a foundation* for a building, though it may include the whole erection; and the following *'ōz*, prop. *strength*, is sometimes used for the concrete form *ma'ōz* (מַעֲזוֹ), *a stronghold*. See xxviii, 8 (R. V.); xlv, 1; lxii, 7.

Preceding this, prominence is given to the material of the building. It is *peh* (פֶּה), lit. *mouth*; then by metonymy, that which proceeds from the mouth; so, variously translated, *a command* (Gen. xlv, 21), etc.; *an appointment* (Num. xxvii, 7); *a sentence* (legal) (Deut. xvii, 11); *sayings* (Ps. xlix, 14). No metonymy is more frequent in Hebrew. Here the context clearly suggests *praise*. The prep. *min* (of) is the same that is elsewhere prefixed to the material of which anything is made (Gen. ii, 19; Ps. xlv, 14).

In the combination *babes and sucklings*, we have the common Hebrew figure Hendiadys, in which two nouns are connected by the copulative, the latter defining the former; babes, even sucklings, *i. e.*, *unweaned babes*. Bickel ("*Carm. Vet. Test. Metrice*," 1882) finding too many syllables in the line to suit his theory of Hebrew versification, must have some reason for discarding one of these words as a corruption of the text. He does this by a foot-note: "Additamentum sensum per exaggerationem destruit, quia lactantes nondum majestatem Dei

ex operibus ejus intelligere possunt." But the word "sucklings" does not indicate to inhabitants of a warmer climate an age so tender and unintelligent as to us. It was the Hebrew custom to wean a child when three years old or later. Samuel was not weaned till he was old enough to be helpful to Eli in the temple (1 Sam. i, 24).

In order to bring out more clearly the thought that the praise of children refutes and repels the evil minded who blasphemously assail God, denying His existence or His perfections, we have ventured the more literal translation of *lema'an* (למען), ordinarily in Hebrew *because of*. It is simply the prep. *le* (ל), *for*, prefixed to the apoc. form of *ma'aneh* (מענה), *an answer*. It suggests to every Hebrew reader of the Psalms the sense we have assigned to it—*for response to*, in connection with the mention of the praises of children as silencing the enemies of God.

4. PSALM VIII, 5.

וַתַּחַסְרֵהוּ מֵעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים וְכָבוֹד וְהָדָר תַּעֲטֶהוּ :

But a little lower than God hast Thou placed him,
And with glory and majesty crowned him.

All expositions of the eighth Psalm assume that the expression, "Thou hast made him little lower than God," refers directly to Gen. i, 27: "So God made man in His own image." Probably most English readers, observing the verb *made* in both passages, infer that they must equally describe man's creation. It is in consequence of this, no doubt, that many prefer that the translation *angels*, incorrect as it is, should be retained, or some other substituted that shall not ignore the infinite distance of man from God.

But is it certain that the poet refers here to the creation and nature of man? Does not his question in the preceding verse assume that man already exists, not going back to the elements of his being as Divinely produced and combined?

Looking at the Hebrew, we find no equivalent for the verb *made* in our English translation. It has only the transitive form of the intransitive verb *hhasar* (חסר), *to be less*, and the most exact translation would be, "Thou hast lessened him little from God." We may then regard the following verses as explanatory of this, showing that the "glory and majesty" in the poet's mind are not in man's nature, but in his position relatively to the irrational world. To the brute man is its supreme God, not even "a little lower" than God, the Creator of all things, for it sees in him the only exhibition of personal intelligence and will it is capable of apprehending.

Undoubtedly, it was on account of his superiority, as made in the image of God, that "all things were put under his feet," but the direct allusion in the Psalm is to the latter, and not to the former.

JOHN DEWITT.

VIII.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE JESUITS IN CANADA.

SOME members of the Jesuit Society came to Canada in the end of the sixteenth century, and a good many in the beginning of the seventeenth. The story of these early Canadian Jesuits is well known, and it contains not a little of the heroic. To enable the Jesuits to prosecute their work of educating the colonists and converting the Indians grants of land in Canada were made to the Society by several kings of France, as well as by others: these lands are known as the Jesuits' estates.

By the treaty of Paris, in 1763, the whole of New France came into possession of Great Britain. In this famous instrument the following words are found: "His Britannic Majesty on his side agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada. He will consequently give the most precise and most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." The Jesuit Society had been suppressed in old France in the year preceding the treaty; and it was, of course, an illegal society by the laws of England. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the Society had, or could have, any legal existence in Canada after the country came under British rule. However this may be, the Quebec Act of 1774 (the year following the abrogation of the Society by Pope Clement XIV) forbids the *Communities* of the Church of Rome to hold property; a provision which was not enforced against any of the Communities except the Jesuits. This notorious body, now under the papal ban, was forbidden to recruit; while adequate provision was made for the maintenance of all who had been members of it, as long as they should live. When the last Jesuit, Father Cazot, died, the sheriff of Quebec took possession of the estates in the name of the Crown, and for thirty years they were administered by the Crown in the interests of education in the towns of Quebec and Montreal.

In 1831, the Imperial government handed over the estates to the Province of Quebec; the proceeds to be permanently applied in support of education. The trust was accepted by that Province, and was administered according to the terms of it till the year 1888.

The Jesuit Society was reëstablished by the Pope in 1814, and in 1841 members of this mischievous community began to return to Canada. They were not long in urging their claims to the estates which had belonged to their predecessors, and which, according to canon law, had escheated to the Church, not to Britain, when the Society became defunct. Still earlier the Catholic bishops had claimed the property in the name of the Church, and now the Jesuits lent their powerful and persistent aid in support of the Church's contention. The Jesuits gained the ear of the Hon. Mr. Mercier, the premier of Quebec; and whilst on their side they secured for him the ultramontane vote, he, on his side, proceeded to enact a measure by which the Jesuits and the Church should receive compensation for what he calls the "confiscated" estates. Nothing can be more remarkable, or more humiliating to any self-governing community—not to say any British Province—than Mr. Mercier's correspondence with Rome and the Act which embraces this correspondence in its preamble. The Quebec premier inquires of Cardinal Simeoni whether he "sees any serious objection to the government's selling the property, pending a final settlement of the question of the Jesuits' estates." The Cardinal replies that "His Holiness was pleased to grant permission to sell the property which belonged to the Jesuit Fathers before they were suppressed, upon the express condition, however, that the sum to be received be deposited or left at the free disposal of the Holy See." This condition Mercier slightly modifies, thus: "The government would look on the proceeds of the sale as a special deposit, to be disposed of hereafter, in accordance with the arrangements to be entered into between the parties interested, with the sanction of the Holy See." Rome agrees, and Father Turgeon, of Montreal, procurator of the Jesuits, is empowered to complete negotiations with Mr. Mercier. It was at length arranged by the Jesuit and the premier that \$400,000 should be given in compensation for the estates, which sum should be distributed by the Pope between the Jesuits and the other claimants as he should determine. Mr. Mercier now passed through the legislature of Quebec a bill in which the sum named is voted to the Church, while he takes power to sell the estates—the proceeds to be applied as the legislature may approve. The Act, it may be stated, appropriates the interest of \$60,000 for Protestant education; which sum cannot but be regarded as hush-money, for assuredly the Protestants could claim no compensation for the Jesuits' estates.

This Act, as already said, had no validity until it should receive papal sanction. In due time this sanction was given, and the money voted to the Church of Rome was distributed by Leo XIII among the several claimants—\$160,000 going to the Jesuits, \$150,000 to the Laval University, while the residue was apportioned among the dioceses of the Province. Thus the Jesuit Society, which, as a necessary preparation for receiving this money had secured incorporation

in 1887, was helped to a position of power and influence which its record of three centuries might well have forbidden it to reach in any British country, or, for that matter, in any land where its history was known.

The objectionable features of the Jesuits' Estates Act are so glaring that it is hardly necessary to direct special attention to them. It may be regarded as a violation of the trust under which these lands were received and accepted by Quebec; it disturbs the wise arrangement under which the revenues accruing from these estates were devoted to higher education; it distinctly elevates the authority of the Romish Canon law above the law of the empire; and it recognizes in a way which compromises all true freedom the right of the Pope to interfere in our civil affairs. Whatever may be said in reply to the first two objections, the last two are of a kind to rouse the utmost indignation and antagonism of every Canadian who is not a slave of Rome.

By the Constitution of Canada, the Dominion Government has the power of vetoing obnoxious Provincial legislation. So far from applying the veto to this measure, the central authority hastened to pronounce it valid; and when a motion was offered in the House of Commons requesting the government to disallow the Act it received the support of only 13 members, 188 voting against it. Petitions from Quebec, Ontario and other provinces, largely signed, were presented to the Governor-General and his Cabinet, but all to no purpose. Under plea of maintaining provincial rights the political parties vied with each other in protecting a piece of legislation which is a humiliation and a disgrace to a free people.

Before the House of Commons voted against disallowance protests against the Act were heard from several places, and especially from Toronto, in which large and representative meetings with unanimity and energy uttered their voice in stern condemnation.

Had the Jesuits' Estates Act been the only instance in Provincial or Dominion affairs in which the Church of Rome had showed her hand, and in which the subserviency of political parties to Rome had been signalized, less importance might have been attached to the matter; but we do not traduce the parties in saying that the Church of Rome has been zealously courted by both, and that while both Conservatives and Reformers well know that Rome has her own ends to serve and cares nothing for their politics, they will stick at little which may help them, for the time, to secure the Catholic vote. There are, of course, among our public men noble exceptions to this rule of subservience, but the parties as such are utterly weak whenever Rome is united in her demands. Our Protestant people have no desire to curtail the liberty of Roman Catholics, or to deny them any right which good citizens should enjoy. The Protestants of Canada would defend the rights of Roman Catholics as earnestly as they would their own; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that where Rome is in the ascendant she is not content with equality, and that everywhere she

keeps pressing legislatures and governments for favors and advantages. Nor can any one who knows the Encyclical and the Syllabus wonder that it should be so. The long-avowed theory of the Roman Church touching the relations of the civil and the ecclesiastical abundantly justifies her procedure, and announces beforehand what she may be expected to attempt whenever circumstances permit or invite her intervention in public affairs. Especially does she strive, on this continent, to influence public education.

It cannot be matter of surprise that the declinature of Cabinet and Parliament to interfere with an Act which—under whatever pretense of compensation—really bestowed the country's money to endow one of the most odious of religious organizations, should have excited very strong feeling throughout the Dominion. The result has been the formation of a body called the Equal Rights Association, with the view of opposing all legislation like that of the Jesuits' Estates Act, and of advocating the entire abolition of government grants, whether in Province or Dominion, to any sectarian or denominational object whatever. The separation of Church and State (not the separation of religion from public life) is the main proposition in the creed of the Association. For more than thirty years Canada had been nominally pledged to this policy, and were it not for the quasi-endowed position of the Church of Rome in the Province of Quebec, and the persistent efforts of the same Church to draw upon the public treasury whenever she has the chance, there would be little difficulty in having the principles of the Association consistently carried out. The action of the Church of Rome has thus made it a necessity that the Equal Rights movement should seem to be directed against that Church; nor have the politicians been slow to brand it as a "No Popery" affair—as an ungenerous and wicked attempt to stir up ill feeling in a country where religious and racial differences demand the utmost mutual forbearance.

It is not here necessary to vindicate the new Association against this charge. Enough to say that the politicians and newspapers that are constantly advancing the charge know that it is without foundation: they are not themselves deceived. The principles of the Association have been so clearly propounded and are so entirely in accord with liberal sentiment that misrepresentation is the only convenient weapon against them. When the Equal Rights men laid down this platform they were careful not only to disclaim all hostility to their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, but they emphatically asserted that they wished to stand on ground which Roman Catholics who desired nothing more than equality before the law might occupy in common with them. Nor is there any part of the Constitution of the Association which the true friends of liberty and equality should find fault with. Public money should not be given for the endowment of churches; nor for any directly ecclesiastical object; nor for the support of schools in which the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome or of any other

Church are taught: these positions so much commend themselves to the majority of our people that they cannot be directly or avowedly opposed.

The question between Romanist and Protestant in Canada is unfortunately complicated with the racial question. The Roman Catholics of the Province of Quebec are mostly French Canadians, and when their church is, as they imagine, attacked, the race instinct combines with the religious in defending an institution which is regarded as the symbol and the guarantee of their nationality. And here, again, the politicians malign the Equal Rights Association, for they encourage the French Canadians to regard the present movement as directed against themselves. There are indeed persons connected with the Equal Rights movement who have said regrettable things respecting the French people, their language and customs, but there is little excuse for taking any extreme utterance of this description as indicating the temper and aim of the Equal Rights Association. In Ontario and the other English Provinces of the Dominion the feeling towards the French Canadians is almost uniformly kind and considerate. The cheerfulness and courtesy of the French Canadian and his desire to cultivate good relations with his Anglo-Saxon neighbor are known and appreciated, and did his Church not lead him as she will he would cause no trouble in the State.

It is too soon to predict the fate of the Equal Rights movement. It has spread to a considerable extent in Ontario and in some other parts of the Dominion. The political machine will crush it if it can. Already the two great parties have unmistakably signified that, notwithstanding their keen hostility to each other, they are ready at any point to combine against those whose chief offense is the advocacy of a doctrine which both profess to hold. The Association has important work to do, and we trust that in wisdom and charity it will steadily advance, and while not less careful of the rights of Roman Catholics than of Protestants, will vindicate those doctrines of freedom which the Church of Rome has put under the ban—rights essential both to political and religious well-being.

The Protestant Churches, it may be said, favor Equal Rights. Certainly they pronounced with sufficient clearness and strength against the Jesuits' Estates Act. Christian people well know that in the triumph of evangelical truth alone will the solution of the problem now before Canada be found. Hence the duty of offering to the French Canadian a purer faith than he has at present; and if this duty shall be wisely and faithfully discharged we shall take the right road towards effecting necessary political adjustment and preserving in the confederation true amity between Saxon and Gaul. But the most complete recognition of this fundamental Christian view is perfectly consistent with the political obligation to resist the admission of false and pernicious principles into the life of the State.

We are not unaware that the Church of Rome has the same aim,

and proceeds by the same methods, in the United States as in Canada, and we therefore count, in fighting this battle, upon the sympathy and moral support of our brethren south of the lakes.

WILLIAM CAVEN.

TORONTO.

THE SALVATION OF INFANTS—THEOLOGIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE DOCTRINE.

WHEN Dr. Hodge declared ("Syst. Theol.," iii, 605), that he had never seen a Calvinistic theologian who held the doctrine that only a portion of those who die in infancy are saved, it is reasonable to presume that he was contemplating only the divines of his own time and country. To this declaration Dr. Krauth, of the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, responded in an extended essay,* containing quotations from, or reference to, several scores of theologians, extending from the age of Calvin down nearly to the close of the eighteenth century, by whom the dogma of infant damnation had been more or less positively held and taught. This essay makes it quite apparent that what Dr. Hodge elsewhere ("Syst. Theol.," i, 26) declared in 1872 to be the common doctrine of evangelical Protestants would have been pronounced a heresy, or at least a doubtful hypothesis, by the voice and vote of a large majority of European divines in any generation prior to his own.

A similar experience once befell Dr. Lyman Beecher. In a note to his famous sermon, "The Government of God Desirable," he stated that, having been conversant for thirty years with the most approved Calvinistic writers, and personally acquainted with many of the most distinguished Calvinistic divines in this country, he had never seen or heard of any book which contained the doctrine of infant damnation, or seen any man, minister or layman, who believed or taught it. In reply to this sweeping affirmation, the *Christian Examiner* (Unitarian, 1827-8) produced a list of theologians less extensive than that of Dr. Krauth, but including some New England divines, such as Edwards and Bellamy, by whom, not only the depravity of infants in consequence of their relation to the Adamic transgression, but also their culpability and condemnation to eternal death on account of that transgression, had been more or less openly maintained. Dr. Beecher subsequently justified himself ("*Spirit of the Pilgrims*," 1828) partly by saying that he was referring in his note to living rather than dead Calvinists, and partly by showing either that the theologians quoted had been misconstrued by the *Examiner*, or that their teachings had been very largely offset by the testimony of other Calvinistic divines, of equal authority, who held that all infants dying in infancy, though depraved in nature, are saved through Christ.

* "Infant Baptism and Infant Salvation in the Calvinistic System." Pp. 83, 8vo, 1874.

It is doubtful whether any two men, at least in this country, did so much to bring about the very remarkable change of belief which these incidents call to mind, as Charles Hodge and Lyman Beecher. The earlier developments of this theologic transformation are visible even in the last century, as a few illustrations will show. As early as 1731, Ridgley, in his "Body of Divinity" (Ans. 27), affirmed, as an admissible hypothesis merely, that infants born of other than believing parents may share in the election of grace, and that God may have merciful purposes towards them which are not revealed to us; at least he is assured that they are not punished as other sinners are. Watts, in his treatise on the "Ruin and Recovery of Mankind" (1740), after admitting the condemnation of infants on account of their share in the first transgression, sought escape from the current belief as to their eternal punishment in the dark alternative of annihilation. Toplady († 1778), although a more decided Calvinist than Watts or Ridgley, held positively that all deceased infants, whether baptized or unbaptized, though they be under condemnation in this life, are delivered at death, and are with God in glory. Other British divines, in the latter part of the century (for example, Hill, "Lectures in Divinity"), took the more cautious position that, while the problem is a mystery unsolved by Scripture, one may hope that the mercy of God will find some way of disposing tenderly of all such infants in the world to come.

In this country, as early as 1741, Jonathan Dickinson, afterwards President of Princeton College, in his discourses on the "Five Points of Calvinism" (Presbyterian Board, p. 127), took the ground that, while the Bible does not teach us openly that all deceased infants are saved, neither does Scripture or the nature of things teach us that any of this class are lost. This was undoubtedly a very marked advance beyond the current Calvinistic belief, here as well as abroad, in that generation. Nine years later, the eminent Bellamy, the theological teacher of Jonathan Edwards, in his "True Religion Delineated," and afterwards in his essay on the "Nature and Glory of the Gospel," so defined the doctrine of infant culpability on account of original sin as to leave little ground of hope for the redemption at death of any except the offspring of believers. Hopkins, on the other hand, is said ("Works," i, 103) to have declared repeatedly, a generation later, that there is not an infant in hell—a fact which may explain the admonition of the General Assembly of 1798, addressed to Balch, a disciple of Hopkins, against making "positive declarations in regard to the state of infants, when it has pleased a wise and holy God to be silent on this subject in the revelation of His Will."*

* Those who are interested in the development of modern belief on this subject, in other denominational connections, may consult with profit *Krauth* (*Lutheran*), "Conservative Reformation," p. 431; *Watson* (*Methodist*), "Institutes," Vol. ii, pp. 54, 344; *Strong* (*Baptist*), "Systematic Theology," p. 355. Also, numerous review articles, representing various phases of belief. Cf. *Poole*, Index.

As has been intimated, it is especially to Lyman Beecher, and to his spirited discussion with the *Christian Examiner*, as early as 1823, that we largely owe the remarkable transition in this country from the seventeenth-century declaration of Twisse, that many infants depart this life in original sin, and consequently are condemned to eternal death on account of original sin alone (*Vindicatio Gratiæ, Potestatis et Providentiæ Dei*), to the nineteenth-century declaration of Hodge ("Syst. Theol.," ii, 211), that no human being ever actually perishes who does not personally incur the penalty of the law by his actual transgression. The process might almost be said to have originated even with Calvin himself, in his denial of a necessary connection, as asserted by Romanists, and practically held by Lutherans of that period, between baptism and infant salvation. From this point of departure, it gradually went on by successive stages of questioning and modification; all children of believers, unbaptized as well as baptized, being first included within the election of grace; afterwards the children of unbaptized and unbelieving parents, and at length all children born in Christian lands being in like manner gradually included; until finally all who die in infancy throughout the world, in Christian or in pagan countries, are regarded as elect and as saved through the mediation of Christ, and by the agency of the Spirit who worketh when and where and how He pleaseth. A proposition, which at first embraced only a relatively small number, has thus by successive steps been expanded until now it includes in its scope at least half of all who are born into the world. It is also noticeable that the dogma is first advanced as an opinion in consonance with Scriptures, or, at least, not forbidden by it; then it is openly affirmed as a doctrine more or less distinctly taught in the Word of God; and finally, as recent discussions show, it is emphasized as a cardinal truth which should be wrought into the creeds of the Church, and made obligatory upon all believers as an article of the faith.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss on either side the doctrine whose evolution constitutes so striking a feature in the history of Christian and especially of Calvinistic theology since the Reformation. What the writer seeks is simply to indicate some of the important theologic implications and consequences which are involved in the transition of belief thus briefly described:

1. It is obvious at the outset that this new doctrine brings up in an interesting form the general question respecting the proper grounds of Christian belief, and the proper basis of church authority in the matter of creed statements. Three propositions pertinent to this question are laid down in our Confession: *First*, that the whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary to faith and life or to human salvation is either expressly set down in Scripture, or may by good and necessary consequence be deduced from Scripture. *Second*, that those things which are necessary to be proved and believed in

order to salvation are so clearly propounded and opened in some place or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned may sufficiently understand them. *Third*, that nothing is to be added to the teachings of Scripture at any time by the traditions of men, or the voice of the Church, or even through new revelations from the Holy Spirit. These three propositions leave room for the freest research into the meaning of the Bible, and for every change in belief, however radical, which such research may justify. They permit all sound deduction, by good and necessary consequence or inference, from what is expressly set down in the Divine Word, though they clearly imply that what is directly or openly revealed must ever constitute the main matter of Christian faith. They guard us carefully both against the Romish dogma of a doctrinal development, over and beyond Scripture, through the expanding consciousness of the Church, and the opposite error of an inward illumination of the Spirit by which the Christian mind is taught of God to know and believe more than the Bible reveals. They by no means justify the current forms of appeal to the religious consciousness as if that were an ultimate test of belief, but rather would bring all sentiments, opinions, creeds, commandments of men directly to the one supreme and absolute test, the inspired Word.

That such is the fundamental teaching of the Confession will not be questioned. But are we not bound to observe these general principles faithfully, in their application to the present doctrine that all infants dying in infancy enjoy the benefits of instant and complete salvation? After a full survey of all the particular texts adduced to sustain this doctrine, can we positively affirm that it is expressly laid down in Scripture, and in such forms and such fullness that even the unlearned may attain to such an understanding of it as shall justify devout credence? If not thus expressly revealed, is the doctrine so clearly and necessarily deduced from the more general instructions of the Word of God, that we are warranted not merely in accepting it, but also in incorporating it among the important articles in our ecclesiastical belief? And if the deduction is found to be a good and necessary one, are we not bound as Protestants and Presbyterians to make very manifest to ourselves and to all men those teachings of Scripture, generic and particular, from which we derive this stupendous inference, and by which we are justified in setting forth as an essential doctrine something which neither Calvin himself nor any of his disciples for two centuries, with a possible exception here or there, ever maintained? And, further, are we entirely assured that in setting forth this most comforting article of belief, we are not either yielding ourselves unawares to the Roman Catholic heresy of a development of doctrine through the Church and outside of Scripture, or admitting the still more dangerous notion of a religious consciousness personal or general as a legitimate and sufficient basis of faith? These are inquiries which it is incumbent upon us as intelligent Protestants and Presbyterians to make, and which just at this juncture we must

not allow ourselves to shirk or evade. They are urged here, not in any spirit of unfriendliness to the doctrine in question, but under a profound conviction that no greater damage can be done to the doctrine or to Protestant Christianity, than to affirm and hold it as an article of belief on grounds which are either insufficient in themselves, or which involve a departure from some fundamental principles of the common Protestantism.

2. It is obvious, further, that this new doctrine, when carried to its legitimate results, must work some important changes in our Calvinistic conception of Christian theology, and this in two general directions. On one side, it will unquestionably press out into prominence, or develop by expansion, some elements of doctrine which have hitherto been kept relatively very much in the background. For example, while it does not indeed invalidate the fundamental dogma of Calvin as to the absolute sovereignty of God and as to His system of administration over men on principles partly of grace and partly of justice strict and terrible, it is evidently bringing in, as a positive antithesis to such sovereignty, a new conception of the Divine Fatherhood, more comprehensive and more effective in its tenderuess than the divines of the seventeenth century ever admitted—a fatherliness which especially illustrates its breadth and quality by providing salvation for that innumerable throng of infants whom God translates in their infancy from the vicissitudes of time to the blessedness of a holy world. In other words, it is giving and will give us a greatly expanded view of what the grace of God is, as working on a far wider scale and accomplishing much larger results for our humanity than the older Calvinists ever imagined. Again, in its peculiar light, the mediation of Christ becomes something much broader and more significant when it is seen to include from the outset nearly one-half of the race, and to be making full and perfect provision for their salvation; since this mediation also goes back to the beginning of time, and with a retroactive efficiency saves not only the devout Hebrew and the Jewish patriarch, but also every infant that has died in whatever land from the earliest ages until now. Indeed, does not the mediatorial work of Christ for adult humanity seem small when compared with what on this hypothesis He is doing, and has been doing from the first origin of the race for children? It would almost appear as if His main business as Redeemer had been and still is to save these myriads of little ones whom the earlier Calvinism largely ignored, but whom the Church is now so confidently committing to His celestial care.

Again, while our Confession teaches that the Holy Spirit worketh when, and where, and how He pleaseth, that work of grace becomes incomparably more vast and more significant in our view, if, indeed, the Spirit has thus been engaged, not from the day of Pentecost onward, but from the beginning of time, in the task of cleansing untold myriads of dying children from every taint of sin, and preparing them to enter at once on the life of heaven. Where now He is effectually

calling and slowly sanctifying one adult believer, He is on this hypothesis regenerating and purifying as in a moment a hundred or a thousand infants on their swift passage from time into eternity. This has been, still is, in some sense must ever be, His main work as the Sanctifier. His processes of grace as seen in adult experience, His wonderful operations in believers and in the Church, become on this basis relatively secondary. And in this light the transition of these youthful myriads, through His purifying hands, into the intermediate state becomes an event of transcendent interest, and heaven itself, as the home into which these myriads are thus graciously ushered, becomes a much more wonderful place than our older Calvinism ever regarded it—a blessed universe of purified childhood.

These are among the more obvious illustrations of the fact that on the side of expansion, the doctrine in question must sooner or later bring in what might almost be described as a structural change in Calvinistic belief. Is it not obvious that this doctrine cannot be intelligently held and promulgated, except at the cost of such modification and enlargement? Must not elements inevitably be brought into the foreground through its influence, which have hitherto been either unknown or relegated to the obscurer background of our faith? While our doctrinal system will not, cannot, be subverted through these changes, still, as a theological structure, will it not, must it not, in the course of time, become at their touch in form and coloring a considerably different edifice?

3. What is true on the side of expansion, is likely also to occur on the side of repression, even to the extent of excluding some tenets heretofore accepted as conspicuous elements in our Calvinistic system. For example, is there not reason to anticipate that the doctrine of original sin, of innate depravity, must come to occupy a less conspicuous place in the system, if we repudiate the dogma of Twisse, and accept the teaching of the venerated Hodge, that, however serious a thing such sin may become as the source of adult transgression in this life, it is rather a dark calamity than a fault in the infant, and one which through the grace of God in Christ never involves the dying child in condemnation in the life to come? Again, must not the decree of predestination distinctly change its aspect, and in the form of an eternal reprobation become a dogma of doubtful value, if it be admitted that there are no reprobate infants, and that the innumerable multitudes who die in childhood are from all eternity foreordained unto everlasting life? In like manner, will not the headship of Adam, whether natural or federal, change somewhat its import and force, if it be held that the guilt of his offense is not in the full sense imputed to the multitude of dying infants who have never sinned after the similitude of his transgression, and that every taint of the evil brought in through him is washed away at death, and the child is rather accepted than pardoned, rather adopted immediately into the Divine family than formally justified, as the adult transgressor must be? Is

it not clear also that the doctrine of particular election can hardly fail to be affected by the proposition that God deals with dying infants as a class, and as a class elects them to salvation—a proposition which Watson pronounces “a mere hypothesis, brought in to serve a theory without any evidence,” and which Krauth characterizes as a “presumption in charity?” If we are to hold that every child that dies is an elect child, and that early death is an infallible evidence of election, and that God is thus conferring His grace generically, comprehensively, on so large a proportion of our race, will it not inevitably become incumbent upon us as intelligent Calvinists to alter our phraseology, if not our opinion, in respect to the whole doctrine of individual election as now embodied in the Calvinistic scheme?

A like change may be anticipated in regard also to the conditions of salvation. In the case of adults, repentance and faith, as personal and voluntary experiences, are indispensable to the application of the salvation which Christ has provided. But dying infants are saved without repentance, in the ordinary sense of that term: they are saved without faith, in the sense in which faith is experienced by the adult disciple on earth. In general, the manner of their salvation differs distinctly from that through which we enter into the kingdom of grace; shorter and sweeter methods are substituted in their case. As the writer has had occasion to say elsewhere: “By a process deeper than conscious volition, and antecedent to all moral choices, their spiritual state is from the moment of death divinely determined, so that they are truly saved before responsible action commences, and their new life is, from the first, not one of testing with possible fall or failure, but one of holiness instant and above all change” (“Salvation after Death,” pp. 196, 197). A different conception of the conditions and methods of salvation, and also of the covenants and sacraments in their relations to salvation, seems to become imperative upon us, if we are to incorporate this doctrine formally into our theology and our symbols.

Many other illustrations of change by repression as well as expansion will at once occur to the thoughtful reader.* What has been said is sufficient to make manifest the important fact that in this direction as in the opposite we may expect extensive and serious consequences to follow in our current theology from this new article of belief. At what rate these consequences may reveal themselves, or how far they may ultimately reach, no living man can foretell. It is not likely that the doctrine will ever be cast aside, and the old phrase, elect infants, reinstated, since at this point Calvinism has now become one with Lutheranism and Arminianism, in the belief that there are no infants dying in infancy whom God regards as reprobate. Whether the new dogma shall find a secure place in our Confession is a question on which the fact that it has a place in no other historic creed of Chris-

*See *Presbyterian Review*, July, 1883. Article on “Infant Salvation and its Theological Bearings.” By Prof. George L. Prentiss, D.D.

tendom sheds an important light, and on which the comparative silence of Scripture sheds a light still more important. It may also be that a discovery of the theological implications involved in the doctrine, and of the difficulties developing themselves in the effort to make a proportionate and harmonious place for it in our theological system, will lead to some reactionary sentiment towards the doctrine itself. It may also become apparent that there are theological exposures involved in the sweeping or careless statement of the doctrine—for example, in the relations of the work of Christ and of the Spirit to the heathen world—against which it will be necessary to erect new and strong safeguards, even in our creed. These possible results are known only to Him whose blessed office it is to guide the Church into all truth, and who assuredly will not suffer the chosen people of God to fall into dangerous error on a matter of such unspeakable magnitude. Meanwhile the manifest duty of the hour is to study the Divine Word more faithfully at this point as at every other; to help one another by temperate and loving discussion; to construct and organize our theological opinions by more vital processes and with a view to more practical effectiveness; and finally to make confessional changes carefully and slowly.

E. D. MORRIS.

CINCINNATI.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON REVISION.

THE overtures proposed by the General Assembly, May, 1889, implied the right to revise our Confession of Faith. This right has been repeatedly exercised since the Westminster Assembly, in 1643-8, formulated our Presbyterian Standards—exercised on the various occasions to the extent desired by the Presbyterian Church. Revision of our Standards is, therefore, no new thing. The right is indeed generally conceded by all parties, while the broad and broadening discussion since last May has proceeded on the very principle of this concession. The Westminster Confession, however venerable, is a human production. Yet, strangely enough, some extremists have assumed that it is too venerable to be modified or revised—indeed, that to revise the Confession is to modify and revise the Bible itself. This is the *proteron pseudos* in the one direction. Other extremists as readily assume that because the Westminster Confession is venerable it ought to be modified—ought to be superseded. This is the *proteron pseudos* in the other direction. The reasonable, valid and safe ground lies between these two extremes. To this ground we think the Church is steadily and surely advancing, by maturer consideration and sober discussion and Scriptural study.

In seeking and finding this common ground, neither party is compromising the truth. But each is seeking, rather, in the spirit of enlightened and tolerant honesty to find and defend the truth, to fortify

and establish it, to simplify and adapt it to the living and loyal faith of the Church, to present it in the forms of modern thought relieved of controversial statements and metaphysical disquisitions and philosophic speculations, to put it into modern style and phraseology and simplicity and brevity, and thus assure its general reading in families and by individuals, its study in the Sunday-schools, its use in the pulpits and in the pews, in public worship and especially in sacramental services until the Confession—truly confessional as it ought to be—shall become familiar throughout our Presbyterian Zion at the same time that it shall become less exposed to misapprehension and misrepresentation on the part of those that are without. Uniting as brethren on this middle and common ground, neither party in this protracted discussion would claim or concede victory or defeat, but each would find union and communion in the common heritage of our confessional faith.

Can such a common ground be found, at once Scriptural, orthodox, practical, irenic, progressive? The reply is ready. It has been indicated and illustrated, if not precisely consummated, in the "Suggestions for Revision," formulated and presented to their presbytery by a committee of the Presbytery of Cayuga, by whom it will be submitted to the General Assembly, not as a completed draft for final action, but as an illustration of the character and mode of revision which is feasible and which seems to us desirable. It has been formulated by so combining, abridging and supplementing the Confession of Faith and the Larger and the Shorter Catechisms as to secure a briefer and simpler statement of "the system of doctrine" contained therein and in the Word of God. This paper has been prepared in the spirit of submission to the supreme authority of inspired Scripture and of unswerving fidelity and loyalty to the system of doctrine taught in our Standards and in the Divine Word. "The respect" in which the revision is made, or the method of revising, is not by textual revision, marring and mutilating the venerable and justly venerated Westminster Confession, but is by combining and abridging and supplementing the Confession and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. The number of the chapters is xxxiii—the same as in the Westminster Confession. The sequence of the chapters almost precisely follows that of the present Confession. There are but two exceptions. The committee has added two brief but significant chapters—Chapter viii, *Of the Holy Spirit*, and Chapter ix, *Of the Proclamation of the Gospel*.

This supplement of two brief and significant chapters is as follows :

"VIII. *Of the Holy Spirit*.

"1. The Holy Spirit, the third person of the Holy Trinity, who by the Father and the Son is sent into the world, who spake of old to the fathers, and by whose inspiration the Holy Scriptures were given, makes us partakers of the redemption purchased by Christ by work-

ing faith in us, and thereby uniting us to Christ in our effectual calling.

"2. He abides ever with His church and in the hearts of all believers, the Comforter and Spirit of truth, taking of the things of Christ and revealing them to men, convicting of sin, and guiding into the knowledge of all-saving truth; and without His gracious influences there is no true faith in us nor spiritual good accompanying salvation."

"IX. Of the Proclamation of the Gospel.

"Almighty God, who has no pleasure in the death of any, but would have all men come to the knowledge of the truth and to salvation, has by the Son and the Holy Spirit given unto His church a commission to preach the Gospel unto all nations; and in this Gospel He offers to all men the remission of their sins and the gift of eternal life, upon their repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ."

We emphasize this significant but brief supplement since it is in special keeping with the missionary spirit of the Church in our time, and with the Scriptural teaching of the presence and personality and ministration of the Holy Spirit, which shall be rather glorious, and more and more glorious as we approach the consummation.

There have been two corresponding cases of combining and abridging in the committee's paper, viz.: 1. *Of Creation and Providence*, in which God doth execute His decrees (S. C., Ques. 8), and 2. *Of Free Will and of Effectual Calling*. The chapter on *Free Will and Effectual Calling*, chapter x, is as follows:

"1. God has endued the will of man with such natural liberty that it is neither forced nor by any absolute necessity determined to good or evil. Nevertheless, such is the state of sin into which the fall brought mankind that no man is able by his own strength to convert himself or perfectly to keep all the commandments of God.

"2. God, by His Word and Spirit, effectually calls men out of that state of sin and death in which they are by nature, to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ, by convincing them of their sin and misery, enlightening their minds to the knowledge of Christ, renewing their wills, and thus persuading and enabling them to accept Jesus Christ and the grace freely offered through Him in the Gospel; yet, so as they come most freely, being made willing by His grace: and this effectual call is by God's free grace alone.

"3. Such elect persons as are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the Word are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who works when and where and how He pleases. Neither is it possible for any to be saved in any other way than by Christ through the Spirit."

The number of words in this paper, while it is considerably greater than in the proposed English Presbyterian revision, is somewhat less than half as great as in the present Westminster Confession. The sub-

stance or material of this provisional paper is so thoroughly drawn from the Westminster Symbols that "the system of doctrine" is not only left unimpaired—it is kept unimpaired; and more than this, the proof-texts so patiently and carefully revised during this very year by the committee appointed at the Centennial Assembly, 1888, can be readily applied as proof-texts, if needed for the Revised Confession. May it not be that Heaven has thus graciously enabled our beloved Church to work more wisely than it knew? May it not be that with a patiently and carefully revised Scripture, and revised proof-texts, and revised Confession, the Presbyterian Church newly equipped and unified is again graciously called of God to an advanced and more effective movement toward the conquest of the world for Christ?

RANSOM BETHUNE WELCH.

AUBURN.

THE REFORMATION WE NEED.

WE are occasionally reminded that the time has come for a new Reformation. The claim is sometimes based on the alleged results of modern exegesis, sometimes on recent investigations in the physical sciences, and sometimes on the general progress of the age in knowledge and culture. A recent writer says, "The present advance in science is preparing the way for another Reformation of the Church—it is emancipating us from the bondage of Protestant scholasticism."

In the history of the Church there have been several reformations, and the one feature common to them all has been, not the introduction of new doctrines, but the recalling of men's minds to the old doctrines that had been long neglected and overlaid by the inventions of men. In pretty much every instance it has been a return to the Scriptural simplicity and purity of earlier times, accompanied with a quickening of spiritual life, and an increase of vital godliness. Such was the great Reformation in the sixteenth century, the second Reformation in England, and the reformation from Moderatism in Scotland under Chalmers, Cunningham and Welsh. The question then is, Do we need a new reformation now, especially in the churches of the Presbyterial polity and Calvinistic creed?

To this question we cannot return a categorical answer, yes or no. It is related of a celebrated preacher of the Methodist Church, that when asked whether he enjoyed the grace of entire sanctification, he replied, "Yes, I think I do, but only in spots." So we think there is need of a reformation, not in the Church as a whole, but only in spots. In certain respects, and in certain localities, a reformation is very desirable. We do not believe, that there has been any general or widespread defection of the Church from sound doctrine, as set forth in our subordinate Standards. The old doctrines have not been disproved, and no new ones have been proved to be true. Of late years, our Church has been unusually fruitful in works in exegetical, historical

and systematic theology. When the history of the Presbyterian Church in the latter half of the nineteenth century comes to be written, it will be recorded that there were giants in the Church in those days. Scholarship has advanced, valuable commentaries have been written, histories have been published, and several systems of theology have appeared which will long be regarded as the pride and glory of our Church, in which, with variations in minor matters, the same system of doctrine, constituting the historic faith of Christendom, has been maintained. In the Preface to his great history, Livy mentions it as one of the hackneyed sayings of his time, that authors have but two reasons for writing their books: either they should have something new to tell, or they should be able to relate in a better style what was known before. Our great theologians, such as Hodge, Breckinridge, Thornwell, Dabney, Smith and Shedd, while thoroughly versed in philosophy and exegesis in their latest and best results, have not pretended to have discovered any new dogmas hitherto unknown to the Church, but have been content to give the old doctrines a new setting. They have restated them, each in his own way, in a style of unsurpassed attractiveness and beauty. In the Confession of Faith the system of doctrine is set forth in a manner which leads even its enemies of other communions, as one of them has recently said, to "prize it for its historic associations, the sublimity of its language, and the diamonds of doctrine which sparkle through it." So far forth we fail to discover any need of a reformation.

But in some respects, and in certain localities, a reformation seems to us to be very much needed. There is in some quarters a rationalistic trend of increasing boldness, in regard to the inspiration and authority of the Holy Scripture; a disposition to favor a loose theory of subscription to the Standards, hinting even at the advantage of no subscription at all; and a claim for a latitude of critical speculation which loses sight of the distinction between liberty and license. There is also, in some influential quarters, a zeal manifested to introduce into our Church and its confessional theology those features of *Dornerism* relating to the final destiny of men, the intermediate state, the salvation of the heathen world without a knowledge of Christ in this life, which are contrary to the Scriptures and to the Confession and Catechisms of the Church. Here, then, we think there is great need of a reformation, bearing in mind what a reformation always is, a return to greater confessional orthodoxy—a return from the speculations and inventions of men to the simplicity that is in Christ Jesus.

The pulpit of our Church, we rejoice to believe, is generally sound and loyal to the Standards. There has, perhaps, never been a higher average of pulpit ministrations than the Church now enjoys. But there are exceptions. In some prominent pulpits, the stalwart orthodoxy of the fathers of a former generation has given way to a rapid and flatulent sentimentalism, with "feelings all too fine for use." Of course the justice of God in the condemnation of the heathen and the

impenitent, is regarded as a very shocking dogma. The doctrines which exalt the sovereignty of God and abase the pride of man are ignored, until the people cease to have any definite opinions about them. Then we are told that to preach such doctrines will empty the churches, and the demand is then made that they shall be dropped out of the Confession. But here arises a difficulty. How about the Bible? Shall they be stricken out of that also?

The progress of error is nearly always in the same order—first indifference, then neglect, then doubt, then denial. It was while men slept that the enemy sowed tares. Dr. Christlieb was right when he said, that “people by degrees get used to the current expressions of skeptical opinions, and to appeals on their behalf to the imposing authority of great scientific and philosophic names, so as, in the sequel, from fear of being laughed at in educated circles for their child-like credulity, to be ready to surrender, bit by bit, the whole religious faith of their fathers. The first thing given up would, of course, be the personal existence of the Evil One; then (for the sake of Balaam’s ass, or Joshua’s address to the sun and moon, or the Mosaic history of creation) the authority of the Old Testament; then, one after another, single miracles of the New Testament; and, finally, the doctrine of our Lord’s divinity, His resurrection and ascension and all the other revealed foundations on which Christian faith is built.” Only a few of the first steps have yet been taken by any of our ministers. But *facilis descensus Averno*. Many learned things, and many beautiful things, are uttered from some pulpits, but very little to stimulate faith. There is more of German speculation than of Bible truth. There is plenty of criticism and fine rhetoric, but not enough of Christ. Who now will make a reformation here? Who will put the trumpet to his lips and sound the signal for reform? Where is the Lord God of Elijah? Where is the mantle of Lyman Beecher, of Spring, Beman and Barnes? Of the Breckinridges, Musgraves, Thornwells, Rices and Plummers? In most of our pulpits are to be found worthy successors of the fathers that preceded them; in a few there is need, it is to be feared, of more virility, a more masculine faith and a more stalwart orthodoxy.

We are not educating enough ministers to meet the demands of our own Church. We have been of late years receiving large accessions from other denominations and from other countries. Some of these are among our best men—men whom the whole Church delights to honor. But some have not been educated in our doctrines, and have never adopted our Standards sincerely and *ex animo*. Obviously we need a reformation here. We need more men and means to educate our own ministry. We need a stricter supervision by our presbyteries in the reception of intransigent ministers, especially of those coming to us from other bodies. We should never allow our Church to become a cave of Adullam, in which the discontented, the restless and the ambitious of other churches shall find refuge.

SAN FRANCISCO.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

IX.

REVIEWS OF

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

I.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By the late Rev. WILLIAM HENRY SIMCOX, M.A., Rector of Harlaxton. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House. (A volume of the "Theological Educator" series.)

This book, notwithstanding its inviting size and appearance, is hardly one to put into the hands of a beginner. Though it tells us that it "does not profess to be a complete grammar of New Testament Greek," its contents are classified according to the usual grammatical scheme, and the several chapters treat successively first of the forms, then of the syntax, of the various parts of speech. If the unencumbered look of its pages should beguile any one into the supposition that he can despatch it *stans pede in uno*, he will be disappointed. For it is thick-set with discussions of individual passages of which the Greek is seldom quoted in full, and the majority of which, consequently, a reader must turn to in his Testament. Accordingly, for getting a general acquaintance with the distinctive character of New Testament Greek, it hardly offers a more expeditious means than either of the standard books now before the public. Its use would have been materially facilitated by the introduction of paragraph headings, or of running marginal notes.

The particular interest it possesses is chiefly due to the fact that it gives us the impressions made by the Greek of the New Testament upon a careful student and editor of the classics. Not that its author abstained from acquainting himself with the labors of New Testament scholars; on the contrary, his book gives abundant and undisguised evidence of the constant use of the works of Biblical specialists. But it is evidently the result of an honest attempt by the author to examine the linguistic phenomena of the New Testament with his own eyes, and to judge of them for himself. And that he is not afraid to form his own opinions soon appears in many little ways; for example, in his disregard of the usage of well-nigh a thousand years by spelling the name of the Jewish historian *Josepus* (after the Greek *Ἰώσηπος*), instead of "*Josephus*." Indeed, once and again the tone of the book, particularly in its earlier portions, is suggestive of one who is fighting his way to freedom from the tyranny of what a witty German professor

called *grammatischer Terrorismus*. It is hard, otherwise, to explain the apparent momentary loss, here and there, of emotional equipoise, or an occasional sentence like, "I look for little gain to theology and hardly any to devotion from the minute verbal study of the language of the New Testament" (p. vi), "the instinct of the cultivated man will be sounder than that of the mere 'scholar'" (p. 85), together with a fling or two at "grammatical purists" and "doctrinaire special pleaders"—utterances which, if taken independently of the writer's general temper and tenor, have a distinct flavor of "Philistinism." As a whole, however, the book is characterized by moderation and sobriety. The incidental suggestions given (for example, on pp. 21, 47, 74, 106, 176, etc.) for the guidance of grammatical research, in arrest of hasty judgments, in rebuke of "exegetical laziness and incapacity," etc., are alike scholarly and sensible. To be sure, the author himself will hardly stand wholly acquitted of overpositive or premature decisions on matters respecting which specialists are still in suspense (*οἱ σωζόμενοι*, p. 127, may serve as a specimen), and on several occasions he seems to come perilously near to that pedantic grammatical overrefinement of which he has so wholesome a horror:—witness the comment (p. 42, n.) on the use of *ἐπείδω*, Rev. vi, 8; the second rule laid down (p. 55 sq.) for the position of the possessive pronouns; the explanation (p. 95 sq.) of the change from the act. of *αἰτεῖν* to the mid. in Mt. xx, 20, 22; of the omission of *μετά* with the second gen. in Acts vii, 38 (p. 159), and the significance detected in the interchange of sing. and plur. verbs with the neut. plur. in John x (p. 194 sq.).

The Greek read in the schools is selected so well-nigh exclusively from "classic" authors, that the change the language underwent subsequently, especially during the Macedonian and early Roman periods, is generally overlooked; hence a student, on coming to the examination of the Biblical Greek, is liable to reckon many phenomena among its distinctive peculiarities which were *common* to it and the current Greek of the period. Our author is well aware of the change alluded to, and gives an admirably vivid sketch of the historical causes which wrought it; but whether he has altogether escaped particular misjudgments involving an oversight of it is another question. Occasionally he utters opinions, as well respecting the form and history of words as upon points of syntax, which familiarity with the facts summarized, for instance, by such writers as Meisterhans, Viereck, *al.*, would have modified (see, for example, p. 38, n., p. 42, bot., etc.).

From what has been already said it will be inferred that Mr. Simcox accords in the main with writers who, like Buttmann, recognize considerable elasticity of grammatical usage in the New Testament, rather than with the more rigorous school represented by Winer. General good judgment appears in his remarks respecting the use of the article with such words as *θεός*, *κύριος*, *πνεῦμα*, *νόμος*; the lax use of tenses (though this he certainly overpresses on p. 105), and of *ὅτι*; the distinction between relatives and interrogatives; the employment of the negatives, etc.; though here again, of course, his decisions and the reasons for them do not invariably command assent. And notwithstanding the compressed fullness of his little book, sundry omissions will awaken surprise—for example, the presence or absence of the article with predicates (compare Jn. v, 36 and 1 Pet. iii, 19 sq.), the use of *περὶ ἀμαρτίας* in Rom. viii, 3; Heb. x, 6, 8; such a concurrence of genitives as in Jas. ii, 1; the adversative use of *καί* in the Fourth Gospel, etc.

But the book as it stands gives evidence of a vast amount of faithful study. Though it offers comparatively little that is really new, it is everywhere suggestive, and often instructive, if not always convincing. Sorrow for the loss which Biblical studies have suffered in the author's death will be increased by regret that he did not bequeath us a perfected work on the lin-

gnistic characteristics of the individual New Testament writers—the work which he projected and a work which is much needed.

The record of a few typographical oversights may be of service: p. v, l. 4, for “Buttman” read “Buttmann;” p. 29, l. 3 from bot., for “p. 40” read “p. 41;” p. 66, l. 2, for “cause” read “clause;” p. 109 n., l. 1, for “there” read “here;” p. 127 n., for “35” read “22;” p. 133, col. 2, prefix “Luke” to “xv, 24, 32;” p. 139, l. 4, for “δó” read “ἐπὶ”; p. 151, l. 4, begin a new paragraph with “Ἡαρά;” p. 158, l. 4, for “πρὸς” read “πρὸς;” p. 190, l. 9 end, for “φo,” read “φo.” The publishers of this attractive series will find their account in giving us improved typography—fewer broken letters and better presswork.

Cambridge, Mass.

J. HENRY THAYER.

DAS ALTE TESTAMENT UND DIE CHRISTLICHE SITTENLEHRE. Von ERNEST FISCHER. Gotha: T. A. Perthes, 1889.

The general relation of the Old Testament to the New, and the special relation of their ethical teachings to one another, are not new topics. But they are topics which will always be attractive to students of the Bible, and on which things, good and new, will long remain to be said. Excepting some quite unnecessary concessions to current theories of the origin of the Pentateuch (pp. 36–38, 56), our author has written a thoroughly good and useful book. He sets out with a presentation of the theories of Schleiermacher, on the one hand, and those of Rothe, on the other. The one rejected the Old Testament as forming any essential part of Holy Scripture; the other put the Old Testament on the same plane as the New, as it respects the clearness of its ethical teaching. Over against each of these views the author seeks to show, that while the Bible is a unit and from beginning to end a divine revelation to men, there are obvious stages of development in it and in the kingdom of God on earth, which it is its aim to make known and establish. Most of the book is taken up with an examination of the moral and religious teachings of the Old Testament as compared with those of the New. In the progress of the discussion, among other interesting and timely things, he treats of the ethical relations of Mosaism and Prophetism (including the Psalter), successfully contesting the hypothesis that there is antagonism between them (pp. 55–105); of the charge of being self-righteous, brought against Old Testament saints (pp. 105–109); and of the Imprecatory Psalms (pp. 105–121). The same spirit rules in these psalms, he holds, that rules in the remainder of the Old Testament. “The spirit is the Spirit of God. Still, it is not the spirit of the New Testament. This appears to be a contradiction; but it is not. Does not the same sun which shines in winter shine in summer? And yet, one may say that it is not the same sun that it was in winter.... An unprejudiced theology will ever keep in mind, when comparing the Old Testament with the New, the unity in difference and the difference in unity; and while doing this, with respect to every other question, will do it especially when the matter of the ethical teaching of both is under consideration.” The book, while very commendable in most respects, as we have said, is unspeakably bad in one: it has neither index, nor table of contents, nor any divisions whatever, from beginning to end, except a slight break in the text, here and there, to mark a transition from one main point to another. It is safe to say that so utter a disregard of common courtesy towards readers would not be tolerated in an American book of this character.

Hartford.

E. C. BISSELL.

THE POETRY OF JOB. By GEORGE H. GILBERT, Ph.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in the Chicago Theological Seminary. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1889. 12mo, pp. 224.

The object of this little volume is to call attention to the literary excellence of the book of Job. It is divided into two parts. The first is a new translation of the sacred poem. This translation has the especial merit of not only observing the parallelism of the original, but also the tones. Three-toned Hebrew lines have been rendered into two-toned English lines, and the rhythm of the two-toned and four-toned lines has been preserved. This work has been well done. The translation not only reproduces the original with great fidelity, but is also smooth and generally rhythmical and of real poetic merit. The author has made no attempt to divide the poem into its strophes. While it is true that no such divisions are indicated in the Hebrew text, still they might well have been given as helpful to the English reader.

The second part of this volume, the Interpretation of the Poem, consists of five chapters, giving a brief analysis of the poem; then the poet's treatment of nature, inanimate and animate, human life, and, lastly, his conceptions of God. There is no attempt to enter at all into the discussion of the theological and critical questions suggested by the book. The author does not endeavor to fix the date of the poem further than to assign it to the golden age of Hebrew literature. He also will not decide how far it is historical and how far the product of poetic imagination. There is also no direct presentation of its religious teachings, but the book of Job, as a grand poem, is compared with other similar masterpieces of literature. Its literary excellence is exhibited. The theme of Job, correctly taken from the prologue, is compared with those of the "Iliad," the "Divine Comedy" and "Paradise Lost." It is shown that the themes of these poems do not touch upon the heart and conscience of man struggling and suffering under God, while that of Job is a part of every true man's life. "His story, therefore, will have a living interest as long as there is a conscience in man, and as long as a human spirit cries out of the darkness and mystery of earth, 'Oh! that I knew where to find Him.'"

The poet's treatment of the other topics is similarly presented. Underlying Biblical conceptions of nature, human life and God are not given, but only those appearing in this single book. We are shown how its author made use of natural objects to express his thought and feeling, and how vivid, beautiful and sublime are his illustrations, when compared with those of Homer, Dante, Milton and Shakespeare. Likewise are given the poet's view of human life and his conception of God compared with those of these great writers. These comparisons, illustrated with abundant quotations, are finely made, revealing no little æsthetic taste as well as devout and reverent feeling on the part of the writer. No student of literature can fail to be interested in them, and no intelligent believer in the Divine Word to be profited.

No one should question the propriety of thus treating a portion of the Bible with reference simply to its human elements. We are thankful for work of this kind, which, while in one sense not worthy to be compared with that which seeks to present the doctrines of Scripture, is yet important. The whole Bible needs to be examined from a literary point of view. Never until its writings are correctly understood in their literary features as histories, codes, poems, addresses, philosophies, letters and apocalypses, can the full and exact nature of the Scriptures be determined. "There is little danger," as Dr. Gilbert finely says, "that by so doing [by calling attention to the human elements of the Bible], the Divine teaching would receive less honor and become less dear; on the contrary, such attention would, in the main,

lead to a more appreciative estimate of the heavenly message. It does not detract from the beauty of the rainbow to know that it did not come down out of the skies perfect and complete, but that only the wonderful light came down, and found in our earthly atmosphere the lenses which could make its hidden riches visible to our mortal eyes. It is still God's bow, and though it should be arched through human tears."

Chicago.

EDWARD LEWIS CURTIS.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN. With Introduction and Notes. By Rev. GEORGE REITH, M.A., Glasgow. Part I: Chapters i to viii, 11, pp. i-lxi, 1-136. Part II: Chapters viii, 12, to xxi, pp. 1-178. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 7½ in. x 5. 1889.

These volumes belong to the series of hand-books for Bible classes and private students, edited by Rev. Prof. Marcus Dods, D.D., and Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D. The excellent introduction evinces wide reading and careful discriminating judgment on the difficult question of the relation of John to the synoptists. And the commentary is thoughtful, sympathetic and sufficiently full. It will prove a valuable aid to all who use it.

Princeton.

C. WISTAR HODGE.

DAS NACHTGESPRÄCH JESU MIT DEM NIKODEMUS. Von F. L. STEINMEYER. Beiträge zum Verständniss des Johanneischen Evangeliums IV. Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt und Grieben, 1889. 8vo, pp. 135.

It is a luxury to the German mind to go into details. It is a mind that is patient of points, and is not satisfied even with great ideas unless they are followed by foot-notes and compassed about with a great cloud of references. So it is in line with its instinct to give itself to individual studies. We would not be surprised if the brochure held a higher place in its productions than the systematic completed work. Its love of specialty specializes itself, and its great powers are thrown, without hesitancy, on single points.

A most delightful study lies before us in this little book of Steinmeyer's. It is a German effort of the very best kind. It is scholarly, as of course all German efforts are. But with its scholarliness there is a spiritual earnestness that carries it perhaps further along in its impression upon the reader than otherwise could have been possible. We can account for it only on the ground of the author's department in the University Faculty. It is his *Practische Theologie* coming to the surface. It is the *Kanzel* coming into the class-room—the *Pfarrer* part of his lecture work compositing with the professor part, and giving us these resultant pages for our pleasure and our profit.

The contents are quite simply divided. There comes first the *Einleitung*, which brings before us the preliminary parts of the study, and then three *Abschnitte*, the first presenting the author's analysis of the talk; the second carrying out the truths of the talk into the Church's general life; and the third coming back to a new consideration of what the author feels to be the centre point of these truths. To us, we confess, the chief interest lies in the first two parts of the book—the *Einleitung* and the *Erster Abschnitt*. In fact, we cannot help but think the book's impression will be made here, and the truth on which the author seems to lay peculiar stress will show itself within these limits.

The author starts out with giving what seems to him to be the reason for the visit. There may have been in the Pharisee's heart a doubt and mistrust of what he had seen of the Lord's public work; or, on the other

hand, a hope that that work held in itself promise of a better time outbreaking for Israel; however that may have been, his motive in coming was to bring himself into immediate contact with this Galilean Teacher and to learn the truth from Himself. Besides that there was a heart in his visit, which is evident not so much from the visit itself, as from the facts which the evangelist has given us as following out of it, viz., the advocacy of Christ's rights which Nicodemus made in the council (Jno. vii, 45-53), and his final open discipleship with the Master's cause under the revealing power of the crucifixion (Jno. xix, 38, 39). The author lays special stress on the fact that to each of these passages the evangelist is particular to add a reference to Nicodemus' visit to Jesus, as though he would connect these with that as results, and give us to understand that it was a matter of heart-interest with Nicodemus from the first.

The object of the visit lay in the same direction as that of the Jewish embassy to John the Baptist—was Jesus "the coming One?" Only that with Nicodemus it was not from a public interest that he came, but from a personal interest—for his own belief and faith. And he is received by Jesus in sympathy with his coming. When the Pharisee entered the room that night, Jesus recognized in him a soul that was being drawn to Him by His Father. As such he received him, and directed the talk to the answering of the inquirer's heart-questions and to the winning of his heart's life to Himself. And here the author carries the talk back to the evangelist's prologue, in the first chapter of the Gospel. He makes bold to take that prologue, not as the evangelist's own self-outworked ideas, but as the Master's own explanation of the truth, so that he brings back this winning of Nicodemus to Christ's own claim in i, 12 (*ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἑξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι*). This *τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι* is, in the author's mind, equivalent to the *γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν* of iii, 3, and the object of the talk is the production in Nicodemus of this *ἑξουσία*. In his discussion the author naturally yields to his sacramentarian views and places the factors of the new birth in Baptism and the coöperation of the Spirit (*ὕδωρ καὶ Πνεῦμα*, v. 5), which, while it was meant as spoken to Nicodemus to refer to John's Baptism, had real reference to the Christian sacrament of the Church in all ages to come. But the author now brings out what, if we do not mistake, is the characteristic point of his book. The Master's object was to make of Nicodemus, by this new birth, not simply a new man, but a new teacher.

He had come to Christ as he would have come to a teacher (*Ῥαββί ὁδᾶμεν ἐτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐληλυθας διδάσκαλος*, v. 2), but he was himself a teacher (*Ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ*, v. 10). As a teacher then he had come to this great Teacher, and as a teacher this great Teacher sought to bring him into a new life. From now on he should be not a mere Master in Israel, but a Teacher in the Kingdom of God. And in this the Master touches not only Nicodemus, but all the *ποιμένες καὶ διδάσκαλοι*, which he was to give as his gifts to the Church (Eph. iv, 11), so that the problem of this talk compasses not simply Nicodemus, but the Church and Christ's servants of every time and everywhere.

This closes the *Einleitung*. The *Abschnitte* which follow, as we see, are the simple unfolding of the above problems and so they are appropriately named: 1. *Jesus und Nikodemus*; 2. *Christus und die Gemeinde*; 3. *Der Herr und seine Diener*. It is, however, within this first one that we wish to keep ourselves. It is in reality nothing but an analysis of the talk. But there is no mistaking that the analysis is an interesting one. The first part of this section is devoted to the first twelve verses of our passage, in which, as the author holds, Jesus presents Himself to Nicodemus specifically as a *Lehrer*, and as the specific point of His *Lehre* puts before him the New Birth. Around this

γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν gathers everything in the talk. Nicodemus is naturally astounded by Christ's words. He is an old mau (v. 4). This process he understands to be nothing less than a renewal of the entire nature. How shall that take place with him? The Master meets his objection by unfolding before him and emphasizing in the unfolding the ἄνωθεν of v. 3. The power must come from above, from God, and it does come through the Water and the Spirit (v. 5). The Spirit is the instrument in God's hands of the New Birth, the Water is that instrument's vehicle. At this again Nicodemus is astounded—not, as the author very clearly points out, at the idea of a new birth—on that his amazement had already spent itself—but at the idea of its taking place through the Spirit. And so the Master proceeds, in v. 8, to bring the truth home to him. The author will not allow this verse to be a mere illustration. He will not, in fact, admit that its πνεῦμα refers to the wind. He keeps it in its meaning of Spirit, and will have us understand it not so much of the Holy Ghost, which the Master was to promise to His disciples, the Comforter, who indeed had not yet as such come, but rather of the Spirit of God, whose φωνή Nicodemus had himself already heard in the heralding cry of the Baptist (φωνή βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, Matt. iii, 3), and was even then hearing in the words of Jesus Himself (καὶ τὰ πρόβητα τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούει, John x, 3). This φωνή Nicodemus heard and was obeying, but (ἀλλ', v. 8) he did not know whence it was or whither it was going, its origin or its object [the οἶδαμεν of v. 2 the author takes to be merely tentative on Nicodemus' part], and yet these were the very things he must know and understand, for so is every one that will be born of the Spirit (v. 8). It is a necessity with him, belongs to him as the first step towards his new life. Again is Nicodemus disturbed. How can these things be (v. 9)? How shall he come to a knowledge of the πόθεν and the ποῦ of the Spirit of new life? And Jesus answers him by asking how he does himself, as a *Lehrer* of the people (v. 10). "Art thou a Master of Israel and understandest (γινώσκεις) not these things?" Did not Nicodemus himself as teacher require of his people just exactly what the Master was now requiring of him—a believing acceptance of His testimony and His witness? That was how he was to get through his ignorance of the "whence" and the "whither"—by faith. And in this the bridge is built from the first to the second part of this section.

Then the *Lehrer* in the talk retires and the *Heiland* comes to view. The ἐπίστα are left, the ἐπουράνια are taken up—the γνώσις gives way to the πίστις (vs. 13-15). And very interestingly the author shows that as *Heiland* the Master makes His talk in explanation of the "whence" and the "whither" which he had laid in such earnestness upon the Pharisee's ignorance. The thirteenth verse is an explanation of "whence it cometh," the fourteenth verse of "whither it goeth." It cometh ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. It goeth ὁφθαλμῶν. In other words, He centres now everything in Himself as the Saviour who has come to save the world. He has come from heaven; that is the source. He has come to do the will of Him who sent Him—that is the goal, and the way in which that goal was to be reached was through the cross (ὁφθαλμῶν). It was a deciding point with Nicodemus. The Master brings the matter home to his faith (ὅτι πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ, v. 15). Will he accept or reject? The author does not let us pass by the fact that, with this new turn in the talk, Nicodemus had grown suddenly silent. He holds that it came not simply from the impressive power of the Master's words, but from the Pharisee's doubt of mind as to how he could believe. To remove this doubt and bring him to full faith, the author now makes the Master give another bend to His talk. The *Heiland* disappears and His place is taken by the *Seelsorger*—the πίστις gives way to the πράξις (vs. 16-21). He shows

Nicodemus the difficulty which lay in the way of his faith, a difficulty that the author, from ch. xii, 42f, holds to have been the fear of his synagogue position, and, at the point of that difficulty, he gives his faith a helping hand by putting before him the *ποῦν τὴν ἀλήθειαν* (v. 21), as the necessary way of reaching the light of the world. This presented itself to Nicodemus very plainly as something more than he was then doing, as not simply a secret coming to this Teacher from God, but as an open remaining with Him as His disciple. Christ was the true light; to do the truth was not merely to be in sympathetic accord with it, to recognize it, listen to it, give it the heart's attention, which Nicodemus was indeed then doing, but to be in active acceptance of it, come to it, remain with it, follow it, which Nicodemus had not yet brought himself fully to do.

So ends the conversation with v. 21. As *Lehrer*, Jesus had laid before the Pharisee the necessity of the new birth. As *Heiland*, He had revealed Himself as the One through faith in whom this new birth was to be realized. As *Seelsorger* He had shown how the difficulty which lay in the way of that faith might be overcome. This ends the first section. As we have said, the second section carries these thoughts out into the general life of the Church, and the third comes back to the conversation to gather from it chiefly the special thought of Nicodemus' conversion as not simply of the man but of the teacher. This Teacher idea seems to be the chief idea before the author in his discussion of the narrative. He holds that the controlling motive with Nicodemus in his coming was to find out what he as a teacher in Israel was to do with this Teacher come from God. And with the Master Himself it was a corresponding motive to bring about the new birth, not simply of the man in Nicodemus, but of the teacher (pp. 103-111). And we do not know but the author is right. God brings men's talents to Himself and uses them in His work. With the Master it was the soul of Nicodemus that stood before Him as the thing of first importance; but should He on that account fail to recognize that the Father was drawing this soul to Him as a teacher of the people? The opening question of v. 2 seems to give the lead to our thought. At the same time we recognize, especially in these days, and in Germany as well as in our own land, the danger of overemphasizing this idea in practical work. God has not sent His Church to select the talented men for her work. The world-instinct in her is very likely to go along elective lines—talents, wealth, influence. But men's souls are all alike lost. All alike then do they present themselves to God's rescuing Church.

We commend this book of Steinmeyer's to the class for which it was evidently intended—the student-minister, minister-student class. It is a book spiritually strong, and, as German books go, critically safe.

Oxford, Pa.

M. W. JACOBUS.

A CRITICAL AND GRAMMATICAL COMMENTARY ON ST. PAUL'S FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. By CHARLES J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. 8vo, pp. 342. Andover: W. F. Draper, 1889.

The English edition of the above work appeared in 1887, but Mr. Draper, of Andover, who has hitherto republished all the commentaries of Bishop Ellicott, now presents us with an American edition. The Andover reprint of Ellicott's works is probably better known in America than the original publications. There is little to choose between them in point of accuracy. The size of the American page is a trifle larger; the Greek text is printed in somewhat smaller type, hence the number of pages is slightly reduced. In

other respects, the two editions are identical and of equal value for the student.

There can be no question as to the merit of Bishop Ellicott's exegetical productions. He intimates that a generation has passed since his earlier works appeared; how much that generation has been helped by his labors can scarcely be estimated. While the lamented Bishop Lightfoot excelled his senior in some respects, it was Bishop Ellicott that gave the strongest impulse to exact grammatical and lexical study of the New Testament, his own work furnishing an admirable example of the correct exegetical method.

The "Commentary on First Corinthians" is constructed on the same general plan as the earlier volumes. Yet there are some deviations and improvements. The author modestly alludes to the greater experience he now possesses as probably bringing with it "a better mastery over materials," a probability which the careful reader will accept as fact.

An important gain is in the handling of textual questions. The progress in textual criticism since Bishop Ellicott began his labors has been immense, and it is easy to see how fully he has availed himself of this advance. He has done what every real student must do—formed his own judgment in every case of disputed text. In expressing his opinion, he has indicated the degree of "preponderating authority" by a nice choice of adverbs, ranging from "apparently" to "vastly." (Something similar was attempted in the marginal readings given in the Revised Version, though very few English readers seem to have taken the trouble to learn the value of the discriminations.) Bishop Ellicott cites the judgment of the best recent critical editors, and also that implied in the Revised Version. The manuscript and other authorities he rarely names, intimating that the student would be bewildered rather than helped by the long lists. But the average minister and student, in dealing with textual questions, is only too much inclined to rest on authority rather than "authorities." The witnesses really establishing the text are not numerous, though the long array of signs would indicate otherwise. The text of First Corinthians, as it stands in this volume, rests upon about ten "authorities." It would be better for the student to learn how to weigh the value of these ten than to know what Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort think about the readings. The habit of accepting results without weighing evidence will never make a scholar, and the correct method would cultivate the judgment, not only for purposes of textual criticism, but for all other work involving historical investigation. The advance in critical ability evinced in this very volume would not have existed had the author been content to follow the editors, most of them more competent critics than himself, instead of fixing his own attention on the "selected witnesses" cited by Tregelles. The "Received Text," as referred to by Bishop Ellicott, is the third edition of Stephens (1550). Naturally, the judgments as to the Greek text implied in the Revised Version are carefully noted and estimated at their true value.

The grammatical references are to Moulton's translation of Winer, but there will be no difficulty in verifying them in Thayer's translation, more in use among us. Apologizing for the fullness of grammatical detail, the worthy bishop naively says: "If the student will patiently wade through these details of grammar, he will be rewarded by a real knowledge of the mind of the original, which, so far as I know, cannot certainly be acquired any other way." The truth of this position is doubtless unimpeachable; but "practical" commentaries are far easier to read.

In the Introduction, the usual topics are briefly discussed, and the opinions accepted stated with candor and care. Bishop Ellicott rightly opposes the view that the parties in the Corinthian Church were "actually defined fac-

tions." He admits that 1 Cor. v, 9 refers to a letter of the apostle, now lost. He divides the epistle into seven portions, intimating, however, that the first and second might be regarded as one main division (chapters i, 10 to vi, 20).

Every clause is discussed with the same grammatical and lexical exactness that characterize the previous works of the author. The various opinions are stated, but the notes are not overloaded with the names of other commentators, as in German exegetical works. As might be expected from the relation of Bishop Ellicott to the Revised New Testament, the renderings of that version agree quite closely with the results set forth in this volume. A comparison with the preferences contained in the American Appendix shows that in a majority of instances Bishop Ellicott prefers the view indicated by the American revisers. In many cases, he uses word for word the suggestion made in the Appendix; often, where the difference between the English and American companies is one of exegesis and not merely of expression, he sides with the latter. Yet, strangely enough, he nowhere alludes to the fact of such differences, ignoring the existence of the Appendix.

It is interesting to compare this volume with that of Godet on the same epistle; the two are so unlike. Godet is far more conservative a critic, far less exact in his statements of grammatical exegesis; yet one can read Godet at length, and, with any decent knowledge of New Testament Greek, can see the linguistic ground-work of his interpretation. But Ellicott must be studied, not read. Every note, moreover, challenges the student to the use of his lexicon and grammar, concordance and favorite commentary. No lazy man need buy this book; he could not use it and remain a lazy man.

The temptation to select some important passages for detailed notice is very great; but only by using the book can one learn to estimate its value aright. The present writer cannot agree with the author in his views respecting a few passages, but he feels justified in saying that no better commentary, of its kind, has been written on this Epistle in England or America. Unfortunately, it is not of the kind most prized among us.

Allegheny.

M. B. RIDDLE.

The following books in New Testament Theology need notice :

Introduction to the New Testament. By Prof. George Salmon, D.D. Fourth edition. (New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.; London: John Murray, 1889.) Once and again in reviews of this work, attention has been called to its high character and especially to its fascinating treatment of the themes of New Testament Introduction. A *fourth* edition is practical proof of the value of these estimates. Each edition has improved upon previous ones, and this last brings the subject up to date by the discussion of several important matters, viz.: 1. Zahn's judgment that in Tertullian's time there did not exist a Latin Bible, but that the needs of those who spoke no other language than Latin were met by "independent oral interpretation," which judgment Prof. Salmon, in agreement with Dr. Hort, rejects, using Tertullian himself as evidence. 2. Vischer's theory regarding the Apocalypse, which theory is set forth briefly and with clearness, and convincingly answered. 3. The second group of the Pauline Epistles which has a much more satisfactory treatment than in previous editions. The book indicates the watchfulness of the author for all new light upon questions of Introduction, and in its present form is excelled by no work of its kind. It has all the learning and accuracy of German works on the same subject, but, in addition, a quality which they do not usually have, and that is a clear, straightforward, vivid style, which gives

interest to otherwise dreary discussions.—*The Bible Illustrator*. Vol. ii : St. Luke. By Rev. Joseph S. Exell. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) This volume is a storehouse of sermon plans, anecdotes and illustrative thoughts gathered from a wide variety of sources. As such it indicates great labor and excellent discrimination. Such names as MacLaren, MacDonald, Guthrie, Spurgeon, Cox, Pressensée, Beecher, Farrar, show where the compiler has sought for material. It is difficult, however, to say just what the real value of the work is. There are many helpful bits of interpretation in it, but only a wise use of any such would-be "help" can save it from becoming a temptation to sloth or to hasty, thoughtless working. Viewed as a compilation, it is worthy of high commendation; in any other light its value is questionable. —*The Pulpit Commentary*. Peter, John, Jude. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) As in all the other volumes of this series, exposition is subordinate to homiletics, so that while the former is carefully and earnestly done, it is overshadowed by the bulky mass of sermonic material unfortunately placed beside it. The critical passage in 1 Peter iii, 18-22 is interpreted to mean an actual descent of Christ Himself into Hades. The introduction to 2 Peter contains a full defense of its genuineness, and a careful comparison of it with the first epistle and Jude. The exposition of the Johannine Epistles by Dr. Plummer is compact, clear and satisfactory. It is wanting in some of those helpful distinctions and summaries which Westcott gives and which let in so much light upon the teachings of the epistles. Indeed the rare work of Westcott and Haupt on these epistles set an ideal which will be seldom attained.—*The Classical Element in the New Testament*. By C. H. Hoole, M.A. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1888.) The purpose of this work is stated by the author as follows: "To enquire whether the allusions contained in the books of which the New Testament is composed, justify us in giving it the date generally claimed for it and accepting it as a work of the first century; whether the quotations and early references come at a period sufficiently near to that date to supply the necessary external evidence that it existed in the form in which we possess it before the close of the first century; lastly, whether there is anything in the book that it contains which would justify us in putting it at a period later." In accordance with this purpose, the classical element is divided into (1) classical proper names, (2) official titles and legal expressions, (3) quotations from classical writers and (4) inscriptions. As the classical names in the New Testament so often involve chronological questions, or stand for governmental relationship, this part of the work is full of interest and replete with information. The Latin element in the New Testament is exhibited, but the author seems to make it, contrary to fact, entirely lexical. He may mean, however, to confine himself entirely to nouns proper or common. The whole work is a valuable contribution from a peculiar side to the genuineness of the New Testament. In an appendix he gives a list of the earliest quotations from the New Testament and the chief authorities used in the formation of the canon.

Auburn.

J. S. RIGGS.

II.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

THE NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. Vol. xiii: ST. CHRYSOSTOM: HOMILIES ON GALATIANS, EPHESIANS, PHILIPPIANS, COLOSSIANS, THESSALONIANS, TIMOTHY, TITUS AND PHILEMON. Vol. xiv: ST. CHRYSOSTOM

HOMILIES ON THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN AND THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1889 and 1890. Royal 8vo, pp. xii, 592; and xvi, 555.

The first of these volumes is the thirteenth volume of the Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, and the twenty-third volume issued in connection with this noble undertaking. This volume appears in the finished style of the preceding volumes. It contains 599 pages, including a "Table of Contents;" an excellent notice of St. Chrysostom by Dr. J. A. Broadus, the well-known homiletical critic; "Additional Notes"—clear, concise, comprehensive—by Dr. Gross Alexander, Professor of New Testament Greek in Vanderbilt University, Tenn.; "The Argument," prefacing some sets of the homilies, finely stated by Chrysostom himself, *e. g.*, the homilies on the Ephesians, on the 1st Epistle of Timothy and on Philemon. The book concludes with a complete "Index of Subjects" and a complete "Index of Texts."

The commentary on Galatians is continuous, according to chapter and verse, instead of being arranged simply in the form and order of homilies. Homilies, as is well known, are free and familiar addresses upon certain passages of Scripture (more or less extended) imitated in the expository preaching of our day. In this direction Chrysostom excelled, perhaps, all the preachers of earlier or later times. He was free and versatile in his handling; skillful, sympathetic, searching, practical in his application. "Efflorescent and repetitious" but emphatic, he was attractive to the masses, while he was impressive and effective with all; and with his downright earnestness and eloquence he attracted all classes and swayed them as an ambassador for Christ with divine commission, as though God did beseech men, by him to be reconciled to God (2 Cor. v, 20).

Dr. Broadus, in his complimentary notice of St. Chrysostom, remarks: "The sympathetic student will soon find that Christianity is with Chrysostom a living reality. He dwells always in its presence and companionship. He is profoundly in earnest, and alive with it. The attentive reader sees the frequent questions, the abrupt turns of phrase, the multiplied repetitions, by which a skilled and sympathetic preacher keenly watching his audience strives to retain attention, to insure a more general comprehension and the most effective result. You are drawn near to him, and almost stand by his side. Upon the whole, of all the expository preachers, John of the Golden Mouth is our very best example. Of the many good models earlier and later, the sympathetic student can learn most from Chrysostom."

The fourteenth volume closes the American edition of the works of Chrysostom and concludes the first series of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Library of the Christian Fathers, as edited by Dr. Philip Schaff. In contents, form and finish, this volume fully equals its predecessors. It consists of two parts—the Homilies on the Gospel of St. John, and the Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Of the former there are *eighty-four*; of the latter there are *thirty-four*. The homilies on St. John's Gospel are peculiar and peculiarly valuable: they were delivered to a select, thoughtful and critical audience, and upon special request, and are argumentative or controversial as directed against the Anomœans who held that the Son is not even of *like* much less of *the same* substance with the Father. The *first* of the eighty-four homilies is prefatory and apologetic. With the second homily, Chrysostom enters directly upon his great theme of discussion. The protracted argument is at once able, eloquent and convincing. The other part of this noble volume contains an elaborate paper by the American reviser, the late Dr. Frederic Gardiner, on the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This interesting

paper is the last literary work by Dr. Gardiner. In a scholarly and thorough manner he canvasses the claims presented by the different advocates of St. Paul's authorship of this epistle; of Clement's (Clement of Rome); of Apollos'; of Silas'; and finally of Barnabas'. His conclusion is: "There is nothing to hinder the belief that Barnabas, the devout Levite of Cyprus, the early convert to Christianity while still in strong sympathy with the Jews, the man of benevolence and Christian wealth and therefore of education, by birth the appointed servant of the temple, the man of independence and dignity, and yet of such tender sympathy as to be surnamed 'Son of Consolation,' the long and intimate companion of Paul, and for years in the position of his superior—there is nothing to hinder the acceptance of the early ecclesiastical statement that Barnabas was also the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews."

Chrysostom prefaces his thirty-four homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews by an interesting "*argument and summary of the Epistle.*" He makes these homilies especially practical and impressive by a pious and fervent exhortation at the end of each. These homilies were reported by a short-hand writer, and, as we learn in the title, published from his notes by Constantius, Presbyter of Antioch, the dearly loved friend of Chrysostom.

We are glad to learn that the success of this first series has encouraged the same Publishing House to undertake the second series in this great American enterprise.

Auburn.

R. B. WELCH.

BEITRÄGE ZUR SEKTENGESCHICHTE DES MITTELALTERS. VON IGN. V. DÖLLINGER. Erster Theil: GESCHICHTE DER GNOSTISCH-MANICHÄISCHEN SEKTE. München, 1890. Zweiter Theil: DOKUMENTE VORNEHMlich ZUR GESCHICHTE DER VALDESIER UND KATHARER. München: Berk'sche Buchhandlung, 1890. 8vo, pp. vi, 259 and ix, 736.

In 1846, Dr. Döllinger, then Professor of Church History at Munich and the greatest scholar of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, wrote a formidable attack upon Protestantism in his three volumes on "The Reformation: Its Inner Development and its Effects within the Limits of the Lutheran Confession." He confines himself strictly to documentary sources, and makes the Reformers, especially Luther and Melancthon, condemn their own work by their complaints over the degeneracy of morals, the antinomian wildness of the students, the abuse of evangelical liberty, the rapacity of the Protestant princes in robbing church property, and the general confusion, which undoubtedly was the immediate but only temporary effect of the German Reformation. Disappointed humanists and renegades furnish corroboratory testimony. It is a stronger, though less popular book than even Janssen's "History of the German People," which more recently has created such a sensation in Germany.

Twenty-five years later, the same Dr. Döllinger was excommunicated by the Archbishop of Munich, his former pupil, for opposing the new Vatican dogmas of papal absolutism and papal infallibility, which he could not reconcile with his knowledge of historical facts, and no Catholic knew them better than he. Being called upon to submit to the new dogmas, he declared in an open letter, dated Munich, March 28, 1871, that, "as a Christian, as a theologian, as a historian, and as a citizen, he could not accept the Vatican decrees for the reasons that they are inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel and the clear teaching of Christ and the apostles; that they contradict the whole genuine tradition of the Church; that the attempt to carry out the

papal absolutism had in times past been the cause of endless bloodshed, confusion and corruption; and that a similar attempt now must lead to an irreconcilable conflict between Church and State and between clergy and laity." The sentence of excommunication was promulgated April 17, 1871.

Since that time, Döllinger has been connected with the Old Catholic communion, and is regarded as its intellectual head, but he took no part in matters of organization and discipline. He led the retired life of a scholar and author. He ceased to read mass, but continued his connection with the University and the Royal Academy of Munich. He was the leader of the remarkable Union conferences held in Bonn, 1874 and 1875. He died January 10, 1890, in the ninety-first year of his age, in full vigor of mind. His colleague and friend, Prof. Friedrich, likewise an Old Catholic, administered to him the sacrament. His moral character was without a blemish, and his extraordinary learning is universally acknowledged. It is reported that several attempts were made to induce him to return to the Roman Church, but he steadily refused. Of one such attempt, which completely failed, I have positive information.

Döllinger's chief works, after his excommunication, are purely historical and literary, and irenic rather than polemical. It is to his credit that he did not abuse the Church with which he was so long connected. He looked hopefully towards an ultimate reunion of Christendom, and to this end he devoted his energy at the Old Catholic Conferences in Bonn, where he displayed all the power of his learning and eloquence. We mention his "Lectures on the Reunion of the Christian Churches," his "Academic Orations," his "History of the Moral Controversies in the Catholic Church since the Sixteenth Century," and his "Contributions to the History of the Sects of the Middle Ages." All these works are very instructive and interesting and substantial contributions to theological and historical learning.

His last work appeared shortly before his death, and deals with a very difficult and complicated chapter of mediæval church history. The first part (259 pages) gives the history of the Gnostic-Manichæan sects; the second and larger part (736 pages) contains the Latin documents bearing upon the Cathari and Albigenses, which the author in the course of years had collected and transcribed from MSS. in the libraries of Paris, Munich, Vienna, Florence, Rome and other cities. These documents are, of course, very important and form the basis of the history. Most of them are here published for the first time.

Döllinger begins with the history of the Paulicians and Bogomiles, and follows the history of the Cathari down to the thirteenth century. He gives largely the results of studies of earlier years. He derives these sects from Gnostic and Manichæan sources, in which all the chief writers are now agreed. They were essentially dualistic in their philosophy and theology. It is wonderful what a hold dualism had upon the human mind for centuries within the Christian Church. There is eternal antagonism between God and matter, as there is between day and night, between light and darkness; matter is the seat of evil; redemption consists in the emancipation of the spirit from the chains of matter; Christ had no real, but only an apparent body, and showed the way of salvation by His teaching a higher knowledge (gnosis): these are fundamental ideas in all the Gnostic and Manichæan sects of the second and third centuries and their successors in the Middle Ages.

From those religious principles proceeded, on the one hand, an antinomian abuse of the flesh; on the other, an excessive asceticism which prohibited to the elect the use of meat and marriage, as a contamination with evil matter. Appealing to Christ and to Paul, the Cathari taught that only the voluntary

eunuchs had a claim to the kingdom of heaven (so they explained Matt. xix, 11). They condemned the mere desire for marriage as evil (according to their understanding of Matt. v, 28). They denounced even legitimate conjugal intercourse as sinful fornication. Hence all children are born children of wrath, according to Paul (Eph. ii, 3).

Döllinger (i, 174 *sq.*) gives a full exposition of this extravagant asceticism, but is inclined to give more credit to their enemies' charge of secret immorality than Karl Schmid, in his "*Histoire des Cathaïes ou Albigeois*" (Paris, 1849, 2 vols.). He thinks that the elect allowed the wider circle of believers or catechumens a great latitude for excesses. Hence many put off spiritual baptism to the end of life. He follows especially the authority of Rainer, who was himself seventeen years a member of the sect (as St. Augustine was nine years a Manichaean heretic). The Cathari forbade the killing of animals, rejected the oath as sinful under all circumstances, denied to the civil government all spiritual authority, and denounced the Catholic Church, with her institutions, as anti-Christian, or as the Church of Satan. They claimed to be the true Church of Christ, which must suffer persecution in this world. It seems strange that such a sect should have had such a tenacity as to maintain its existence, at least in some parts of the East, among the Slavonic races, till the fifteenth century. The Waldenses are the only mediæval sect which has survived to this day; but they were more Scriptural and free from the metaphysical and ascetic extravagances of the Cathari.

Döllinger dwells chiefly on the doctrines and usages of the Cathari, but is defective as to their external history, except among the Slavs. He gives a clear, calm, critical account, and furnishes a very valuable contribution to this chapter of mediæval Church history. Among the documents of the second volume, we may mention the Acts of the Inquisition of Carcassone, and of the Inquisition in Languedoc, etc., which shed new light on the Albigenses and Waldenses.

New York.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

CORPUS DOCUMENTORUM INQUISITIONIS HÆRETICÆ PRÆVITATIS NEERLANDICÆ. Verzameling van Stukken betreffende de Pauselijke en Bisschoppelijke Inquisitie in de Nederlanden, uitgegeven door Dr. PAUL FREDERICQ en zijne Leerlingen. Erste Deel: 1025-1520. Gent, 1889. 1 Vol., 8vo.

Dr. Fredericq is so well known for the careful accuracy of his historical work that it is superfluous to recommend to the attention of scholars anything that comes with the stamp of his name. The present volume is not intended for popular reading, but no student of the spiritual and religious history of the Middle Ages can afford to be without it. It consists of all the documents, printed and inedited, which the most industrious research could assemble, relating to heresies and their suppression in the Netherlands from the dawn of civilization to the outbreak of the Reformation. As these are nearly all in French or Latin, no one need be deterred from consulting it by reason of ignorance of the Dutch language, in which the summaries and remarks are written. Such a work as this scarce lends itself to review. Its completeness and correctness are vouched for by its authorship, so that criticism would be out of place, and an enumeration of its contents in detail would be a mere catalogue. To the student whose wants it will supply, nothing more is needed than to indicate its existence.

The second volume, which may be shortly expected, will be of even greater interest from its bearing on the religious struggles, of which the results are in our present and our future. Though the period which it will cover is

comparatively short in duration, it is crowded with the details of what is perhaps the most momentous contest the world has seen for the liberty of conscience. These details are scattered through a bewildering mass of matter, printed and MS., and it will be a service of no common magnitude to bring them together and arrange them in intelligible sequence. There is no one who can perform this service so acceptably as Dr. Fredericq, and all who feel an interest in the truth of the history of that stirring time will look forward with impatience for the appearance of the promised volume.

Philadelphia.

HENRY C. LEA.

HISTOIRE ECCLÉSIASTIQUE DES ÉGLISES RÉFORMÉES AU ROYAUME DE FRANCE. Edition nouvelle avec commentaire, notice Bibliographique et table des faits et des noms propres par feu G. BAUM et par ED. CUNITZ. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1883-1889. 3 Vols., pp. 990, 992 and lxxvii, 806, small 4to.

After a long and somewhat disappointing delay, the third and concluding volume of this great work has made its appearance. It is not too much to say that no other recent publication does so much credit to the French Protestant scholarship of our times. The history commonly ascribed to Theodore Beza, though published without his name, is the most authentic chronicle of the early days of the Reformation in France. For fullness of information, as well as for accuracy of statement, it is on the whole the richest source upon which the student can draw for the period reaching down to the close of the first so-called religious war in 1563. Unfortunately, it has been until now very difficult to obtain the work in a satisfactory form. The original edition, published at Antwerp, in 1580, has long been an extremely rare book. Nearly fifty years ago a zealous and well-meaning pastor of the Reformed Church of France undertook to reproduce the work (3 vols., 8vo, Lille, 1842); but M. Marzial was utterly incompetent for his task, and in his mistaken attempt to popularize the book by modernizing the style, not to speak of the orthography, of the original, he perpetrated so many blunders as to excite the derision of scholars and provoke the impatience of all whom the inability to gain access to the work in its correct shape compelled to have recourse to his pages. One of the most untoward results of this publication was that it delayed for nearly half a century the edition which the learned Jean Guillaume Baum, in this department the best equipped scholar of our times, had begun to prepare and for which he was at that very moment looking to find a publisher. Now, however, this long-deferred edition has seen the light, doubtless in much better type, and, which is far more important, vastly richer in historical and critical illustration than had it been suffered to come out in 1842. Issued under the patronage of the French Protestant Historical Society, as one of the series of "Classiques du Protestantisme français," and supervised by a committee among whose members figures such honored names as those of the lamented Bersier and Count Delaborde, and of Dean Lichtenberger and Baron Schickler, it is a model of neat and attractive typography. Prof. Baum died before the appearance of the first volume; but his annotations were so full as to render it a comparatively easy task for his old friend and associate in the former Theological Faculty of Strasbourg, Prof. Cunitz, to prepare the work for publication. Prof. Cunitz himself was removed by death in 1886. His mantle was taken up by Prof. Rodolphe Reuss, under whose care the last volume has just appeared, and to whom we are indebted for gathering and arranging in due order the matter of the introduction standing at its head, as well as for

completing some portions of it which his predecessors had not had time to commit to writing when death overtook them. It is an interesting fact, therefore, that quite unexpectedly to them, the three colleagues and life-long friends who had been so intimately associated in the production of the magnificent edition of the works of John Calvin that supersedes all previous collections of the Geneva reformer's writings, have been concerned successively in the monumental history that lies before us. All three are we believe members of the Lutheran Church, or "Confession d'Augsbourg;" the study of the fortunes of the Reformed Churches of France has with them been a labor of love.

The first four books of the "*Histoire ecclésiastique*," as is well known to scholars, are in a great degree composed of extracts from contemporaneous works—especially the "*Histoire des Martyrs*," by Crespin, the "*Histoire de l'état de France*," attributed to Regnier de la Planche, etc. These extracts and the public documents of the day are inserted without any indication of the sources from which they are derived. It is one of the great merits of this edition that the sources have been carefully investigated and are uniformly indicated in the notes.

The interesting question respecting the authorship of the work has received careful examination and the results are fully stated by Prof. Reuss. On the whole, the traditional account which has of late been discredited by Soldan and other excellent writers, is reaffirmed with some necessary qualifications. Theodore Beza, Calvin's associate and successor at Geneva, was the responsible author. To him were sent the various local memoirs and histories of individual reformed communities by such of the churches as complied with the exhortation of the Synods to prepare for the use of posterity faithful records of God's marvelous dealings with them. But while Beza certainly contributed much of the material, in the way of reminiscences of his visits to France, the colloquy of Poissy, where he played so prominent a part, etc., he was too much occupied with his multifarious duties, as theological professor, as preacher, and as counselor and negotiator for all the Reformed Churches and lands of Christendom, to dispense with assistance in the work of putting together and coördinating the material drawn from so many quarters. We can only conjecture who were his helpers. Not improbably Nicholas des Gallars and Simon Goulart were of the number.

It ought perhaps to be mentioned that the "*Société des livres religieux*" has also published within a few years a very correct edition of the text of the "*Histoire ecclésiastique*" of Beza, in two volumes and printed in double column (Toulouse, 1882). As it is destitute of notes and illustrative matter, the Toulouse edition cannot compare with the edition of Profs. Baum, Cunitz and Reuss for the use of the historical student.

Columbia College.

HENRY M. BAIRD.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA. Its Origin, Development and Characteristics. By DAVID D. DEMAREST, D.D., Professor of Pastoral Theology and Sacred Rhetoric in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo, pp. 215. New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America.

The title page states that this edition is revised and enlarged, which is the fact to such an extent that it is almost a new work and a very satisfactory one. The three parts into which it is divided are all well treated. First is the *Origin*, under which we have an account of the rise of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands; then of the way in which its doctrine, polity and

worship were settled, and finally of the planting of the Church on this continent. Next comes the *Development*, in which two chapters relate how the colonial Church came to achieve its independence, and how its educational institutions, boards and missions were gradually formed. The last part discusses the *Characteristics* under three heads, viz., the doctrinal Standards (Belgic Confession, Heidelberg Catechism and Canons of Dort); the liturgy, customs and usages (tracing the origin of the several offices in use); and the government and discipline (indicating the salient peculiarities). A final chapter contains statistics of progress, and some sensible remarks on the position and prospects of the body.

The volume opens with an historical account of the coat-of-arms of the Church, and an explanation of the armorial bearings, by John S. Bussing, with a colored plate of the same, and contains fine steel engravings of four of the great lights of the body—Dr. John H. Livingston, Dr. James S. Cannon, Dr. Thomas De Witt, and Dr. George W. Bethune.

This rapid sketch of the contents indicates its completeness. Nothing is lacking that an intelligent reader would desire to see. The book is written in an easy and perspicuous style, and its statements may be implicitly relied upon. The temper of the author is kind, and he is faithful to his mother Church without any invidious reflections upon other bodies. The wide circulation of the volume outside the Dutch Church would be desirable, since the better the different branches of the Reformed know each other's history and peculiarities, the more are they inclined to fraternal fellowship and coöperation.

We wish that the esteemed author had inserted in the volume, when speaking of Dort, what he has so well said in a recent newspaper discussion, in explanation of the popular odium attached to the name of the celebrated Synod, as though it exhibited the harshest and most repulsive statement of the Calvinistic system that was ever formulated, whereas in reality the whole utterance is as mild and genial as any upon record. The error is due to the fact that the State at that time was closely allied to the Church, and visited all recusants with pains and penalties, which were needlessly severe and caused great suffering. Superficial observers have confounded the action of the government of Holland with the conclusions of the œcumenical Synod, and have applied to the latter language which belongs only to the former. "They call to mind the speech of Bogerman on dismissing the Remonstrants, the depositions, the fines, the imprisonments and banishments, and they form their opinions about the dogmatic decrees of the Synod accordingly."

New York.

T. W. CHAMBERS.

THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Historical and Biographical Sketches of its first fifty years. By GEORGE LEWIS PRENTISS. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1889.

This is a handsome large octavo volume of 294 pages, consisting of two parts. Part i contains an Historical Address, delivered by Dr. Prentiss at the Semi-centenary of the Seminary, December 7, 1886, with added notes giving The Present Course of Study; Professorships, Lectureships and Fellowships, etc.; The Treasures of the Library; and a full list of "Alumni who are or have been at any time in the Foreign Missionary service." Part ii gives biographical sketches of Founders, Directors, Benefactors and Professors. A full Index to the whole completes the volume.

This permanent record of the chief facts in the life of this Seminary during its first half century, comes from the competent hand of one intimately associated with its history for the past thirty-nine years; earlier, as the pastor of a leading

Presbyterian church which was in closest relations with the institution from its infancy on, and, for the last seventeen years, as a valued professor in its faculty. No one could have written its history with more cordial and just appreciation of the peculiar conditions and spirit under which it was founded, or of the whole series of those who organized, and endowed, and administered it, and especially of those who have filled its chairs of instruction. In such a volume the memory of eminent ministers and of Christian laymen prominent in the best religious and financial circles of our country is most happily embalmed in the record of what has proved to be, doubtless, their most permanent and fruitful service in the Master's cause. The practical, devoted, and catholic and mediatory spirit in which these founders and early organizers acted is clearly exhibited in chapters ii and v, on "The Origin and Design" and on "The Early Ecclesiastical and Theological Position of the Seminary." The unintentional but very suggestive bearing of these chapters upon present discussions gives them now a special interest and value. The two following chapters contain striking illustrations of the high ideal of theological education and equipment, early formed and rapidly realized in recent years in a broad and thorough curriculum of study; in a large library, of special value throughout, and unique in some of its departments; in a much enlarged faculty of professors and lecturers; and in commodious and noble buildings. All this marks an era in our country of advanced and generous views, in which not a few of our seminaries have shared, though none, probably, in greater measure than Union Seminary in the great metropolis.

The chapter on "Departed Professors" is one to which Alumni of this Seminary and Christian scholars of every name, and, we may add concerning two of them, of every land, will turn with affectionate and reverent interest. None of our metropolitan pastors and church leaders were more widely beloved and honored than Dr. Skinner and Dr. William Adams. Both of them, the first as one of the founders and a director till 1848, and thenceforward a professor, and the second as professor and president, devoted their ripest wisdom and influence to the immediate service of the Seminary.

The two preëminent names in its history as a centre of sacred learning are those of Prof. Edward Robinson and Prof. Henry B. Smith. Not only by their personal character and their influence in their own and other religious denominations at home, but by their wide sympathies and relations with the world of scholars, they first gave the institution its cosmopolitan reputation. Each of them soon held a well-known and unique place in his own field of study, and both planned and developed their two great departments on the broadest lines; while the essential and permanent value of their published works was universally recognized then as now. The sketch of the life and service of Prof. R. D. Hitchcock, brilliant in the pulpit, and for thirty-three years the able incumbent of the Chair of Church History, and for the last seven years of the period President of the Seminary, closes the volume. These biographical sketches do not aim to be more than condensed and graphic outlines of the characters and professional services of the subjects of them. They are vivid, familiar and touching portraiture, most quickening and welcome to all who have had special, personal relations with this institution and these men, but welcome also to all who take interest in sacred learning and world-wide evangelism. Every other such seminary, in particular, may well rejoice in the distinguished usefulness and prosperity of this seat of ministerial training, and in so worthy a record of its first fifty years in that high service wherein they all have a common share.

Princeton.

WILLIAM A. PACKARD.

We notice also the following :

American Religious Leaders: Wilbur Fisk. By George Prentice, D.D., Professor in Wesleyan University. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1889.) This is the second of the biographies in the series of "American Religious Leaders." Care should be taken in organizing a series of Lives that the attitudes of the several authors to their respective subjects shall not be strikingly dissimilar. It is scarcely just that, while the sketch of Jonathan Edwards was prepared by a hostile critic of his theology, that of President Fisk has been written by a sympathizing and admiring friend. We are not objecting to Prof. Allen's book. But obviously it has no proper place in a series, in which reverential pupils and disciples, like President Patton and Prof. Murray, are to write biographies of teachers and leaders like Charles Hodge and Francis Wayland. Surely, New England could have furnished to the publishers a far more appropriate biographer of Jonathan Edwards than the Broad Church Professor of History in the Episcopal Divinity School—if writers of the later numbers are to be chosen on the principle which determined the selection of the others we have named. Prof. Prentice has written an interesting sketch of an interesting, able and useful man, who lived in conditions which made him a leader in his denomination. His administration of Wesleyan University was successful, though he had to contend with unusual difficulties; and in planting Methodist churches in New England no minister of the Church was wiser or more energetic. Presbyterian readers, of course, will not accept as accurate Dr. Fisk's and Prof. Prentice's descriptions of Calvinism; but they will enjoy and be profited by the picture the latter has drawn of the former's beautiful religious life. In its elements and as a whole, it is a thoroughly healthy evangelical experience. No one can be brought into contact with such religious life without benefit. And we think it none the less Scriptural, in that, though Christian "perfection" is attributed to him by his biographer, he gives expression during his last sickness (p. 261) to his consciousness of his deficiencies, his unprofitableness as a servant, and to "his wonder that he shall get to heaven at all." The sense of imperfection revealed in the passage from which we are quoting is one of the elements of a normal Christian experience which abide until the soul of the believer is at death made perfect in holiness and passes into glory.—*Die Constantinische Schenkung.* Von J. Friedrich, Ord. Prof. der Geschichte an der Univ. in München. (Nördlingen, 1889.) Very appropriately dedicated to Dr. Döllinger, on his ninetieth birthday, with the grateful veneration of the author. Though no longer in the theological faculty, Prof. Friedrich, in view of his past and present relations to the controversy between Rome and the Old Catholics, is deeply interested in the historical development of the papacy. As Professor of History he publishes this critical inquiry into the sources of the forged imperial decree which contains the "Donation of Constantine," and thus adds another title to the voluminous literature of the subject. He divides the decree into two main parts, the elder of which he endeavors to show was in existence in its sources before the middle of the seventh century, and the later of which was written a century later. The linguistic peculiarities of each are studied and compared with early documents for the purpose of indicating their origin. A critical text of the decree with notes referring to the sources forms the appendix.—*The Beacon Lights of the Reformation; or, Romanism and the Reformers.* By the Rev. Robert F. Sample, D.D. With Introduction by the Rev. John Hall, D.D. (Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1889.) This is an admirable collection of brief biographical sketches of the Reformers, written from the point of view of the evils of Romanism combatted by them. The author introduces them to the reader by means of a narrative of the rise of Romanism and a brief

descriptive catalogue of its more obvious and important errors. Both the catalogue and the narrative are free from exaggeration and passion. The stories of the pre-Reformers, Wycliff, Huss and Savonarola, follow; and then the stories of the Reformers, Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, Cranmer and Knox; the volume closing with a chapter on the present status of Romanism. We are glad to note its publication by the Presbyterian Board, and hope it may find its way into many of the Sunday-school and church libraries that are made up at the publication house. The stories are told most happily, and the estimates of character are in the main just. The author seems to us to have done justice to Cranmer, for example; a hard thing for many writers to do. It is in every respect a book that the people of our Church may well read and possess. Dr. Hall's introductory chapter, showing the book's right to be, is a good preface, and will not only be read with interest itself, but add to the reader's interest in the volume which it introduces.—*Christian Unity and the Historic Episcopate*. By Henry Forester, a Presbyterian of the American Church. (New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1889.) An essay by an Episcopalian clergyman, written in view of the declaration by the House of Bishops on Church Unity. Its design is to justify by an appeal to history his proposal that the Episcopal Church, in order to promote Church Unity, receive Protestant as well as Roman ministers without reordination. Some of his theses will be read with surprise by the bishops of his Church, as for example, the following: "V. That the mere fact of orders being derived from bishops was not recognized as giving such orders validity, and that, therefore, the theory upon which we receive into our ministry without reordination, men having what we term 'episcopal ordination' is inconsistent with the practice of the early Church. VI. That the Councils did not raise the question of the validity of orders of separatists whom they were seeking to bring back to the Church, but exercised their own discretion as to the terms and the mode of the reception of such men. VII. That men having under the Church's law no orders at all, were for the sake of peace and unity received into the Catholic ministry without the usual form of ordination, and, indeed, without any form at all. IX. That this authority and power are possessed by every autonomous Church, and therefore by the American Church." This power he thinks it is the duty of the American Church [the Protestant Episcopal] to exercise in order to the bringing about of unity among American Christians. The theory of the author concerning the "grace of orders" seems to be that it is conveyed by the bishop, not as the successor of the apostles, but as the representative of the Church, which, if it seems convenient, can dispense with the imposition of his hands. The Church, not the bishop as bishop, is the channel through which the grace which induces the real presence passes. An excellent spirit pervades the essay. The view it is written to commend, is well defended; and it will doubtless be studied with deep interest by the bishops and other clergy of the Episcopal Church, to whom, of course, it is especially addressed.

Chicago.

JOHN DEWITT.

III.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

LEHRBUCH DER RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE. Von P. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE. 2ter Band. 8vo, pp. 406. 9 Marks each volume. [Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher.] Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1889.

Eight volumes have thus far appeared in this "Collection of Theological Text-books." They have been received, as a whole, with unusual commenda-

tion. Some of them have at once taken their place as books of the first order of merit in their departments. Saussaye's "Text-book of the History of Religion," which is now completed by the publication of Vol. ii (Vol. i, 1887) is entitled to a high rank, the volume before us more than confirming the favorable judgment passed upon its predecessor.

The systems of religion which are dealt with in the present volume are the Persian (pp. 1-56), the Greek (pp. 57-194) the Roman (pp. 195-395), the German, including the Scandinavian (pp. 306-341), and Islam (pp. 342-402).

The bibliographical references, which introduce not only each main division, but also all important subsections, are quite full and discriminating. The aim and the real value of single works is often clearly and concisely indicated, so that the reader knows not only the author's general estimate of the works, as entitled to be consulted, but his particular judgment as to their specific worth.

The subjects of this volume are of more uniform and general interest, and the freedom and vigor of the author seem to us to increase as he deals with them. Where he has occasion to set forth conflicting opinions, as, *e. g.*, in his delineation of Mazdeism, he does it with marked fairness and clearness. His style is attractive, and his presentation of his subjects well ordered and well proportioned. The subordinate topics are numerous that possess an interest of their own, *e. g.*, Homer; the Greek philosophers and philosophic schools; the Roman thinkers and teachers of the second and third centuries after the establishment of the Empire and the coming of Christ; and Mohammed. The number of topics of this kind that inevitably lie in the way of a broad treatment of these religious systems would of itself draw special attention to the volume.

The work as a whole is valuable in itself and a helpful guide to those who would pursue broader studies in the rich field which it opens.

Princeton.

CHARLES A. AIKEN.

SUPERNATURAL REVELATION. An Essay concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith. Lectures on the L. P. Stone Foundation, delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary. By C. M. MEAD, Ph.D., D.D., lately Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. [1889]. 8vo, pp. xv, 469.

In this goodly volume, Dr. Mead has made a notable contribution to apologetic literature. The subjects discussed are such leading ones as Theism, Revelation, Miracle, Inspiration and Biblical Criticism; and the mode of discussion gives the work not only a defensive, but distinctly a constructive value. The most marked characteristic of Dr. Mead as a thinker and writer is incisiveness; his analysis is very thorough, and his modes of presentation succeed admirably in bringing his thoughts clearly before the mind of the reader. Another characteristic of his method of writing makes, on the other hand, considerable demands on the reader's powers of attention. Dr. Mead does not strive to make each sentence the well-guarded expression of the resultant of his thinking. His method is to set down sharply the various sides of truth and to trust these forces to unite into the same resultant in the reader's mind as in his own. This makes the reading stimulating, but at times difficult. No writer requires more carefully to be read through each discussion before he is thoroughly understood. And we shall not be surprised to find him, though admirably lucid and generally unmistakable when carefully read, quoted on both sides of some questions. One of the chief elements of value in the book arises from the fact that it is written in full view of all the most valuable

recent literature on the subjects discussed. Perhaps nothing else exists in English which is better fitted to convey a clear idea of the present state of Christian thought on the bases of our religion.

In a book covering so extensive a field, every one, of course, will find something to criticise without abatement of his admiration. In treating of the origin of the theistic belief in the individual mind, Dr. Mead throws a much needed and useful emphasis upon the element of tradition or education. But he seems to us to overstate this element in human growth (pp. 6, 18, 21, 39, 68, 71). We do not believe that, without education, a child would "never manifest distinctively human traits" (p. 18), or "could hardly equal in intelligence the brute creation" (p. 6). This general conception harmonizes with a very low view of the height to which purely natural theism can rise (p. 57); and also with the denial that the knowledge of God is innate (p. 27). Dr. Mead allows that man has "native impulses of the mind" towards theism, and this not merely as a predisposition and desire, but as a persistent tendency to believe in a God; but he argues forcibly against the view that God is an intuition (pp. 27-29). Perhaps a more exact definition is what is needed here. No one believes that an infant is born with a fully formed conception of God, as an infinite, almighty, all-just, all-good person. What is meant by those who contend that man has an intuitive knowledge of God, is that men have natively an undeveloped perception of God. More can be said for this view than Dr. Mead seems disposed to admit; and the analogies of sense perception and intellectual intuitions are closer than he allows. Of course, we have no such full and complete perception of God as we obtain of the external world through our senses—we have not five Godward senses; but it is a different question whether we have not as direct a knowledge of Him as we gain of the external world by, say, the muscular sense, by which we know that we are in contact with *somewhat*, although we have to depend on other sources of information for analyzing this perception of *somewhat* into a clear conception of what it is. Neither does the criticism seem altogether sound (p. 29) that the asserted intuition of God is out of analogy with other intellectual (as distinguished from sensory) intuitions, inasmuch as they are cognitions of the *relations* of things or persons, not of the *existence* of them. The causal intuition, for example, does not wait to act until both cause and effect are before the mind. It is the intuitive conviction of the *existence* of a cause arising from the perception of an effect as an effect, that is, as an event standing in relation to something else which we call cause, and the existence of which is implied in our perception of the effect as such. So the perception of God may be said to be equally intuitive, *i. e.*, part of the content of our perception of man as man, that is, as a dependent and responsible being, in other words, as standing in relation to somewhat which we call God and the existence of which is implied in our perception of man as such. There may thus be a truth underlying the assertion that the idea of God is given in the very same act as the idea of self—though the contents of this idea are left to be developed by reflection and investigation; just as the intuition of causality tells us that the effect as such has a cause, but leaves the discovery of that cause to investigation. It seems, in a word, a defensible proposition that we are led to seek God by an instinct perfectly analogous to that by which we are led to seek a cause for every effect perceived as such.

The nature of a miracle is admirably developed in the fourth chapter. Dr. Mead's definition is obviously the true one, that a miracle is, shortly, an effect in the material universe to the production of which natural causes are insufficient and which therefore implies the intrusion of a new (Divine) force into the complex of nature. The whole discussion is very fine. We do not accord with the remarks at the end of the chapter, however, on the classifi-

cation of miracles—especially on special providences. When the effect is *per se* one to which the natural forces are inadequate, we call it a miracle; when it may *per se* be assigned proximately to the natural forces involved, we call it a special providence, although the elements of coincidence with a command and the like may enable us just as clearly to trace the Divine hand in its production. The effect of Dr. Mead's classification is to leave special providence a class without content, and almost to lead to explaining it away (p. 121). Of the two explanations of the doubtful cases which he allows, the first appears to us essentially deistic in its tendency, while the second alone seems consistent with the Biblical idea of a living God and the doctrine of concursus. We are not fully convinced either by the strong assertions that a miracle cannot prove the existence of God to one previously atheistically disposed (p. 124), and indeed cannot be proved to him to have occurred (p. 174, etc.). No doubt all that is urged may be true of *some* miracles; but may we not say that *some* miracles on the other hand may *per se* compel the assent of every reasonable mind? If the fault is in the heart and not in the head, of course, convinced against his will, a man will remain of the same opinion still. And, of course again, "a certain degree of religious and moral sense is essential." But the question is not whether men may not find it inconvenient to believe, and hence *try* to sophisticate themselves and render excuses for not doing what they are convinced they ought to do. Nor is it whether miracles can convince animals. The most cogent miracles performed before a company of chimpanzees might well meet with no response. But man is a reasoning and religious creature; and miracles may be conceived to be such as must convince him against his will that God is, and is working. Otherwise we appear to assume that Christ appealed to a proof that did not prove. There is an inherent difference between miracles and tricks, perfectly obvious in *some* cases, *per se*. And it is not conclusive as against this, to observe that we would not believe marvels as great as those performed by Christ, if wrought in the interests of malevolence and appealed to to prove that the chimpanzee is God. Marvels as great as those performed by Christ could not be performed in such interests, any more than doctrines as great as those taught by Christ could be revealed by such teachers. Such works, like such teachings, bear in themselves the proof of their origin from God. Of course, the "wonder" in the miracle is not the whole proof that it is from God. Every genuine miracle has also all its circumstances in its favor. And in order to prove the truth of Christian miracle we can appeal to the moral character of the teacher and the nature of the doctrine taught. The instructor who omitted to insist on this threefold twisted cord of evidence would fall far short of his duty. But it is one thing to say that Christ's miracles have multiform and cumulative evidence for their actual occurrence; and another to say that they could convince no one until he was prepared beforehand by appreciation of Christ's character and doctrine. This preparation does not seem to have invariably preceded Christ's appeals to the men of His day to believe His miracles. We prefer to say that "the works themselves" (*ἡ ἑρμηνεία* of John v, 36; xiv, 11) are enough to authenticate Him that He was sent by God; and that though we believe not Him, we ought to believe the works (John x, 38).

The doctrine of inspiration is in the ninth chapter sufficiently taught and carefully guarded, though it is a pity that no exact definition is given of the term, and it is allowed to vibrate confusingly between the state of mind of the recorder of a revelation (p. 283) and the state of mind of the receiver of a revelation (p. 280); while, on the other hand, it is not sharply discriminated from sanctifying grace (p. 314, etc.). The result is that the abstract of the chapter given on p. xiii is thoroughly satisfactory, while we cannot accord

with all the detailed expressions in the chapter itself. For example, at the very outset (p. 279) we are told that "revelation is prior and superior to the record of it"—a doctrine in which we heartily concur. But we do not know what to make of the very first explanatory sentence: "The discovery of America was more important than the history of its discovery, etc." Has the "record of revelation" no further relation to revelation than the description of America's discovery has to that discovery? Dr. Mead certainly, however, does not mean to teach that the history of America's discovery plays any part in the retention, the continued purity, and the use of America—though his simile might suggest it. The parallel would force us to say, rather, that the discovery of America was more important than its settlement, development and continued occupancy by the whites! In a word, the Bible is more than the "record" of revelation: it is the preservation of revelation, it is the condition of the continuance of revelation in the world, it is a part of revelation itself. Dr. Mead also believes this (p. 315). And certainly the conception of inspiration in which the New Testament writers believed enabled them to look upon the written word as the "Word of God," and hence, as such, His revelation. The proof of inspiration which Dr. Mead develops at the end of the chapter is a most admirable and satisfactory one.

The chapter on the "Authority of the Scriptures" appears to us less carefully worked out than the rest of the book. It is not as clear as the rest and as it seems to us not as acceptable. If we understand the author here, we cannot go with him in his doctrine of the basis of Christian certainty; and we do not think he does his usual justice to either of the opposing views which he cites at the outset. And the general drift of the chapter is dimmed by what seems an unusual and confusing use of the term "infallible." No one thinks the Scriptures are without "defect," "imperfection"—no one speaks of them as "faultless," abstractly considered; but "infallible" is not the denial of imperfection, but of error. All we contend for is that the Scriptures are (1) negatively perfect, *i. e.*, without positive error; and (2) relatively perfect, *i. e.*, for their end (see Hodge and Warfield's "Inspiration," p. 28). Dr. Mead seems to think that negative perfection would be of little worth (p. 348); but that is not the question. The question is, Is it a true characteristic of the Bible? Dr. Mead is not disposed to assert it: we are.

The final chapter, on "The Conditions and Limits of Biblical Criticism," must attract all by its lucid and discriminating development of its subject. Everybody ought to read the concluding pages. The book is brought to a close by some valuable appendices more fully elucidating several points in the text, which the argument did not permit full treatment of at the place.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS. I. HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS BEFORE THE REFORMATION. By DR. CHR. ERNST LUTHARDT, Professor of Theology at Leipsic. Translated from the German, by W. Hastie, B.D., Examiner in Theology, University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner and Welford 1889.

This volume will be welcomed as the first installment of a work by an able and well-known theologian, on a subject which is daily becoming more important. The author sketches the history of pre-Christian ethics, and then more fully unfolds the history of Christian ethics to the time of the Reformation. So far as the work goes, it is easily the ablest and most thorough historical exposition of the subject of Christian ethics that has been made accessible to English-speaking people. Indeed, there is nothing with which to compare it except Wuttke's "Christian Ethics," translat

twenty years ago by the late Prof. Lacroix, the first volume of which is devoted to a historical view of the subject. The present work is more extended, more scientific in its form and in the handling of the facts, and evinces, as would naturally be expected in a later writer, a more comprehensive and thorough grasp of the facts. The work of the translator of Luthardt is also happier in its results than is the work in the case of Wuttke, where the transference of German forms of thought so largely takes the place of translation into English, and often renders the so-called translation almost as hard of understanding to the average English reader unfamiliar with the German language, as would be the original itself.

The English reader has now access not only to these two historical presentations of Christian ethics, but also to the scientific views of Wuttke, Martensen, Dorner, and others. All these works are doubtless helping to clarify the public mind and to prepare the way for the recognition of certain fundamental distinctions which it has now become absolutely necessary to make, and to which it is our purpose briefly to call attention.

There are two essentially different theories of morality—the pagan and the Christian. Their basal difference lies in the fact that one is man-centred and the other God-centred. The essence of the pagan morality, whether taught in heathen or Christian countries, is selfishness, and its results are inevitably demoralizing and destructive. Christian ethics, on the other hand, is God-centred. In the Christian dispensation God becomes Christ in his relation to man in redemption. Wuttke, Martensen, Dorner, Luthardt and the other writers agree in this. Beyond this, in the interpretation and expansion of the fundamental principles, the differences appear.

Wuttke, at the outset, grasps most firmly, the correct principle: "God as holy Lawgiver is the basis of the moral. In the new dispensation God is Christ, who is Sovereign or Lord in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xxviii, 18). From the general theistic point of view, that alone is morally good which is intentionally conformed to the will of God; from the specific Christian point of view, that alone which is conformed to the will of Christ the Lord. The errors into which Dorner and other writers fall originate in putting an abstraction, the *supreme good*, in the place of the supremely good God, and then reasoning their way unconsciously into the ethical fog of heathenism. The supreme goodness of God becomes His supreme regard for the *well-being* of His creatures. With Dorner well-being becomes *comfortable-being*, and God's supreme goodness becomes His benevolence to His creatures, and is manifested in supreme regard for their happiness. As an ethical basis, this prepares the way for and leads to postmortem probation, semi-universalism, and universalism in theology. It deftly puts man in the place of God as the centre, by making man's comfort the supreme thing; and so after having appeared to thrust pagan ethics out of the front door in the name of Christ and righteousness, it brings them in at the back door in the name of humanity and happiness. If, on the contrary, the well-being becomes the *right-being*, then the supreme goodness of God becomes His righteousness and holiness, and is manifested in His supreme regard for the perfection and righteousness of His creatures. As the ethical basis, this necessarily excludes all the above-mentioned errors. Is God first benevolent, and then subordinately righteous; or is the reverse the case? Is God first a Father and then subordinately a moral Governor and Lawgiver, or is the reverse the case? These are the test questions. In his unfolding of the ethics of the New Testament, Dr. Luthardt seems occasionally to fail to lay firm hold upon what, from the point of view of the Reformed theology, must be taken as the correct answer to these questions.

Nor can we agree with the learned theologian, when (p. 86) he finds the "entire fulfillment of the law in the disposition corresponding to it;" and

when he discovers the "world of personality in its independence of all external law and all that is positive in morals." The Christian receives Christ by faith as his *Saviour* and *Lord*. The faith in Christ as *Saviour* results in his justification and in love and devotion; his faith in Christ as his *Lord* and *Master* (Sovereign) results in loving loyalty and obedience. On the basis of the one we should rest the system of Christological dogmatics; on the basis of the other, the system of Christian ethics. From the failure to keep this distinction clearly in mind arise false views of liberty and of the relation of the Christian to law. While the man who has accepted Christ as his Saviour is made free from the law as the ground of his justification; the law as laid down by Christ the King is the present rule of life, and hence not only the disposition to obey Him, but actual obedience is His requirement and the Christian's aim. Man is thus freed from the bondage of the law, that he may reach true liberty and perfection under the law in obedience to Christ. In departure from this Scriptural view have originated antinomianism, whether of the gnostics or of the hyper-Calvinists, and the loose, easy-going morality of Germany of the present day. The translator calls attention to the great moral and social problems of the day, as resulting from the schism between the prevalent dogmatics and ethics, and finds the only remedy and solution in the cultivation and enforcement of Christian ethics. The writer has long felt this need, and has elsewhere advocated this view. There is space for barely a word of emphasis. In this country it is especially true that the Christian doctrine and the morals taught in the pulpit and elsewhere are not of a piece. The doctrine is substantially and prevailingly Scriptural and Christian; the morality essentially pagan and self-centred. Nearly twenty years ago, Dr. Warren called attention to this state of things, in his Introduction to the translation of Wuttke. The ethics taught in our schools are largely paganism, and that not even baptized. Man is made a law and end to himself; his own enjoyment, or dignity, or culture, or blessedness, is kept uppermost, has been kept uppermost for these generations. And so the dogmatics have largely swung loose from the ethics; the creed from the practice. We have the legitimate outcome in the exaltation of wealth and money-getting as a means to the happiness and culture that are set before men as the great ends; in the underestimate of manhood and character; in the increasing tendency to ignore God and think that His laws will not work; in the materialization and brutalization of humanity and civilization. Hence the great problems of capital and labor; of caste and communism; of the church-going people and the lapsed masses; of public and private corruption everywhere. It is impossible to overstate the fact that a large portion of our so-called moral teaching is totally and distinctively pagan and *immoral*; and that so long as it is continued the schism in society can only widen and the yawning chasm grow deeper. We agree with the translator of Luthardt, when he says (p. xv): "A complete Christian ethic would at once be a practical solution of all the religious problems, and an index of the real value of the Christianity of its time." We welcome every effort to introduce such ethics into the Church, the home and the school.

Minneapolis.

D. S. GREGORY.

DAS HEIDENTUM IN DER RÖMISCHEN KIRCHE. Bilder aus dem religiösen und sittlichen Leben Süditaliens. Von TH. TREDE. Erster Teil. Gotha: Fried. Andr. Perthes, 1889.

In this readable and suggestive book we have a series of sketches of the popular Romanism of Southern Italy, designed and arranged to show how that which is most distinctive in the modern cultus and practice of the

Romish Church, is to a great extent but the ancient heathenism of Greece and Rome perpetuated under a nominally Christian form. The author has drawn his illustrations from his own observation during a residence of several years in Southern Italy, and has given his argument in a vivacious and popular style, intended and adapted, not merely for the learned few, but for the intelligent public generally. The facts which he presents will hardly be disputed by any who are familiar with the history of the so-called Christianization of Europe in the fourth and following centuries, and who have also seen for themselves Romanism as it exists, not merely as in Protestant lands, but in its Italian birthplace and peculiar home. In these days, when the name "Protestant" often seems to be a misnomer, because protest against Romish error has so far ceased, or is regarded by many as only a mark of old-fashioned narrowness and bigotry, such a book as this is truly timely. There are many who need thus to be reminded of the genesis of Romanism, and of what Rome still is in all lands where she is the dominant religious power. Most instructive also are these sketches in the bearing of the facts which they set forth upon that new departure in missions which is so earnestly advocated by many, who would that missionaries should conform themselves more to the fashions of the heathen, especially in that outward voluntary poverty and asceticism, which the heathen commonly regard as essential to the highest type of religious character. Such facts as those so forcibly presented in this book, show what has been the issue of such a policy in the history of Rome, namely, not so much the Christianization of heathenism as the heathenizing of Christianity.

Toronto.

S. H. KELLOGG.

We notice also the following:

Kant, Lotze and Ritschl. A critical examination by Leonard Stählin. Translated by D. W. Simon, Ph.D., etc. Pp. xxxii, 327, 8vo. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner & Welford, 1889.) This very important book may be briefly mentioned here by the way, while a fuller treatment of it is reserved for a subsequent occasion. In it Stählin subjects Ritschl's new naturalism to a searching examination, both as to its formative principle in a theory of cognition derived ultimately from Kant, and in its development. His verdict upon the tendencies of Ritschl's attempted reconstruction of theology is that it lands us in religious nihilism. "In point of fact," he justly declares (p. 277), "his system of theology is an attempt to revive in new form the antiquated principles of rationalism, and to establish them on a new basis by means of a theory of cognition suggested by Kant and Lotze, and with the help of elements drawn from Schleiermacher." No one who would understand recent theological trends and their results can afford to miss reading Stählin.—*Exposé de Théologie Systématique.* Par A. Gretillat, Professeur de théologie à la faculté indépendante de Neuchâtel. Tome Premier: Propédeutique: 1. Méthodologie. Tome Troisième: Dogmatique: 1. Théologie Spéciale. Cosmologie. Pp. 356 and xvi, 659, 8vo. (Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères, 1885 and 1889.) We notice Prof. Gretillat's Systematic Theology also only provisionally, pending the completion of the work, for which two more volumes are needed. Prof. Gretillat writes with admirable clearness. His conception of dogmatics is somewhat too narrow for the contents of the science: he treats it in three sections, corresponding to the three great acts of God relating to His saving scheme—the first, physical creation (Cosmology); the second, spiritual creation (Soteriology), and the third, restitutive creation (Eschatology). The doctrine of God is thus relegated to an exterior place—"presupposition of dogmatic;" and the doctrine

of sin to a subsidiary addition to "Cosmology." We regret to see the Free Swiss Churches, who confessedly owe their very existence and all the pulses of life that throb through them to the Calvinistic revival led by Malan and Merle d'Aubigné, deserting, even under such distinguished leadership as M. Godet's, the first principles of the Gospel that taught them to believe. For Gretillat follows his great colleague in deserting Calvinism. Like Godet, he distinctly teaches (iii, 335-6) that predestination is to glory, based on a foresight of faith; while God's purpose of salvation (*πρόθεσις*) embraces all men without exception. As a historian of doctrine, he is constrained to admit that predestinationism was the faith of all the great precursors of the Reformation, of all the great Reformers, and of the regenerators of his own Church. He considers this a most strange and contradictory phenomenon. "It is this doctrine," he exclaims, "which makes God a liar and the author of sin, that has nevertheless been the mark of the greatest revivals and the greatest regenerations of the Church. It is this system of servitude that has given birth to modern liberties." His explanation is that it is not Calvinism but the strong God-sense that *always accompanies* it, to which all this is due; but the fact is obvious that Prof. Gretillat has discovered that grapes do grow on thorns and figs on thistles. If we cannot claim him as a co-Calvinist, we rejoice that we can at least lay claim to him as a fellow-supranaturalist. He gives an admirable definition of miracle as distinguished from providence (p. 623); and teaches unhesitatingly that regeneration is miraculous.—*The Credentials of the Gospel. A Statement of the Reason of the Christian Hope. Being the Nineteenth Fernley Lecture, etc.* By Joseph Agar Beet. Pp. viii, 199, 8vo. (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1889.) Prof. Beet's able Fernley lecture develops the argument for our Christian hope from a point of view which enables him to deal especially with the contents of the Gospel of Christ as the matter to be proved. He shows first that the teachings of the New Testament, and especially of Christ, not only satisfy our moral sense, but elevate and enlarge it, not only satisfy our moral needs, but enlarge them and then satisfy them as enlarged. Then he carries the argument into the test from the material world, comparative religion and history, including Biblical criticism. Many striking modes of argument are developed, as, for example, when he makes evolution prove God (p. 65): "Life must.... have been developed out of inorganic matter. And this development.... must have had a sufficient cause. That cause, since we cannot find it in inorganic matter, the only form of matter then existing, must have been non-material." So (p. 92) he admirably shows how Biblical theology plays into the hands of apologetic, by arguing that what is common to the several types of New Testament teaching must have come from Christ (p. 100). Once more, it was a good idea to test the fact of the resurrection of Christ by assuming in turn its truth and falsity, developing the results, and testing them by history (p. 121 *sq.*). One of the most striking points thus brought out is repeatedly referred to: "If Christ did not rise, a delusion has saved the world.... If so, delusion has been better than knowledge and error better than truth.... If we accept this supposition, we may well be pardoned, if we prefer delusion to knowledge, error to truth. If truth is opposed to morality, it has lost forever its claim to our homage. The serious error which led astray the early followers of Christ has in recent days been detected, and, stranger still, the discovery of the truth has apparently added nothing to the moral influence of Christianity." The right conception of a miracle is taught, and on p. 141 a fit reply is given to the common objection that we lack criteria for it. A fair statement of freedom of the will is given (p. 30); and an excellent statement of the Biblical meaning of "*justify*" (p. 95). The book will add value to the excellent series of lectures to which it belongs.—

LVI Stellingen over den Heiligen Doop van Antonius Walaeus, alsmede xii Theses over den Kinderdoop von Franciscus Junius. Uit het Latijn vertaald door J. Keizer, v. d. m. te Zeeland, Mich. Pp. 29, 8vo. (Holland, Mich., 1889.) The Dutch Churches of the Northwest find it necessary to protect their people from Baptist error. Only a few years ago Prof. Hemkes gave us an admirable treatise on "De Kinderdoop uit God" (Grand Rapids, 1886), and now Mr. Keizer draws good baptismal doctrine from the old wells. He evidently does not think, with the redoubtable Dr. Stockmann, that the life-time of a good vigorous truth is about twenty-one years. If the old dogmaticians were more read, the old truth would be more honored.—*Christmas Eve: A Dialogue on the Celebration of Christmas.* By Schleiermacher. From the German, by W. Hastie, B.D. Pp. xv, 80, 16mo. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner & Welford, 1890.) Schleiermacher's "Christmas Eve," as is well known, was not only the first composition in which he presented the fundamental thoughts of his Christology, but it remained the most graceful and accessible form in which these thoughts could be read. An English translation of it was therefore worth giving, but certainly rather as a piece of theological history, than as a Christmas gift-book. It is made more valuable by the appended analysis of Schwartz. We cannot think the English translation wholly successful. Mr. Hastie appears to adopt most of Schleiermacher's views, though certainly he rightly calls them (p. x), a "new Christian faith."—*The Struggle for Immortality.* By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Pp. 245, 12mo. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1889.) Miss Phelps' latest volume of theologizing is made up of essays for the most part originally contributed to *The North American Review* and *The Forum*. Miss Phelps is always brilliant, but can scarcely be thought of as a theologian; for we must remember, as she herself reminds us, "that systematic religious belief is a science, as well as botany or physiology." Miss Phelps has her pet conservativisms; and we are grateful for her defense of God, the soul, immortality. But she also has her pet unbeliefs, wherein she riots with the same inconsequence and arrogance as those others whom she very brightly characterizes as "endeavoring to establish a mathematical equation between an instructed mind and an abandoned faith"—to make "the mere holding of certain views" "the tattoo-mark of intellectual barbarism." This is precisely the attitude of Miss Phelps towards all of the deposit of the faith which she does not happen to like, whether it be imputed sin or predestination. In the essay which gives the name to the volume, natural law is carried into the spiritual world, in the form of the suggestion that immortal life is bestowed on the principle of the survival of the fittest. The underlying conception does not seem to be far from that of Bender, who defines religion as "on its practical side the exercise of the impulse of self-preservation in man, by means of which man seeks to maintain the essential ends of life, amidst the obstacles found in the world and at the limit of his power, by voluntarily rising up to the power that orders and controls the world."—*From Over the Border; or, Light on the Normal Life of Man.* By Benjamin G. Smith. Pp. vi, 238, 12mo. (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1890.) An attempt to commend the Swedenborgian idea of life beyond the grave under the form of a story. That other, spiritual life is the normal life on which light is sought to be thrown. The author thinks it normal for blooming girls to give light utterance to such sentiments as, "As the subjective is such will the objective be;" "The state of the subject....depends on the reception of the Divine life, which, when in the interior or spiritual degree, gives like or proportionate entrance into the Divine objective of the spiritual world." We had fancied heavenly converse to be something different.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

IV.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

FOREIGN MISSIONS: THEIR PLACE IN THE PASTORATE, IN PRAYER, IN CONFERENCES. Ten Lectures. By AUGUSTUS C. THOMPSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889.

This volume is an important contribution to the missionary literature of the Church. It contains ten lectures which were delivered to the Senior class in the Theological Seminary at Hartford, on the foundation of the Foreign Missionary Lectureship. They do not give an account of any one of the heathen religions, nor present any phase of the missionary work as carried on in heathen lands. The aim of the lecturer was rather to present the grand, fundamental and unchangeable principles that underlie the whole subject and the relations of the Christian ministry to it, and to do it in such a way as would be most profitable and interesting to young men about to go forth as ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ. In this he has been eminently successful, and a most salutary impression must have been produced on those whose privilege it was to hear them. The volume should find its way into the hands of many ministers, especially the younger brethren. Friends of missions who are endowed with worldly goods could do no better thing than supply theological students and ministers with it. In the first lecture, the minister's sphere is defined as extra-parochial and world-wide, and it is shown by abundant historical references how slow the Church and ministers have been to come to an understanding of this fact, and how generally, in works on Christian ethics, our obligations to the heathen world have been ignored. The lectures on "Ministerial Prayer and Missions," on "Missionary Concerts, their History, Value, and the Best Methods of Conducting Them," the pastor will find to be exceptionally valuable. The account of the great conferences on missions that have been held at various times is quite complete and exceedingly interesting. An Appendix contains the titles of a large number of books that have been quoted, and is of great value to any one who is disposed to pursue the lines of investigation traced in this volume. Although the book was specially intended for theological students and ministers, yet private Christians will find it instructive and stimulating. The style is a model of simplicity and directness, and every sentence gives proof that the heart of the lecturer was in his work.

New Brunswick.

D. D. DEMAREST.

CHRISTIANITY, ISLAM, AND THE NEGRO RACE. By EDWARD L. BLYDEN, LL.D. London: W. B. Whittingham & Co., 1888. Pp. 432.

ISLAM AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS, and THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY IN THE ORIENT. Two pamphlets by the same author, 1889.

Dr. Edward L. Blyden, the author of the volume and pamphlets placed at the head of this notice, is the ablest and most cultured Negro writer known to the English-speaking peoples. We would have allowed no qualification in this estimate of his ability and culture, had he not put us on our guard, by the statement, that there are many able Arabic scholars among the Negroes of West Central Africa, unknown to English and American readers, who are entitled to rank very high in the world of oriental culture. While we grant, on the strength of Dr. Blyden's statement, much of culture, of a certain sort, to some of these Mohammedan Negroes, it is still quite likely that we are near the mark when we say that Dr. Blyden is the most accomplished Negro now living. His linguistic attainments are wide and, apparently,

thorough. He is at home with Latin authors of classical repute, as his many and varied quotations, scattered almost too plentifully through his book, will go to show. He is acquainted with Greek; reads and speaks Arabic with ease and fluency; is at no loss in the French and Italian; and it may be said, without hesitation, is a master in the use of the English tongue. If he had omitted all his quotations and phrases, drawn from other languages than the English, the intelligent reader would have had no difficulty in recognizing his severe linguistic training, for it is not to be questioned, that his pure, vigorous and, at times, eloquent style could not have been secured without a large share of linguistic drill. To this may be added the fact, that his acquaintance with the best English literature is wide, and the handling of his acquirements in this department of polite culture is judicious and effective. His knowledge of important current events, in Europe and America, is large, and the use to which he puts this knowledge, in the discussion of the leading topics, to which his book and pamphlets are addressed, shows discrimination and literary experience. As a writer for Reviews, he may be called a practiced hand, and he has, we believe, a high reputation with the conductors of leading British Reviews, to whose pages he has easy access. Besides, he has been a wide traveler, and a most careful observer of all questions relating to Africa, of which great country he has been a resident for thirty-seven years, though born in the island of St. Thomas.

Dr. Blyden is a leading citizen of the Republic of Liberia, and has taken an influential part in the development of that interesting commonwealth. He has represented the Republic at the court of St. James. He has presided over the young College, located at Monrovia, and assisted, effectively, in the formulation of the educational ideas of the country. He has been employed by the English government in conducting important embassies to the native chiefs, and has written more intelligently in the interest of his own race than any other Negro.

The subjects which he has discussed, in the book and pamphlets now under notice, are of the greatest importance, both to Africa and the United States; and we may say, if not equally, yet in a very large and true sense, to the civilized world. These discussions need for their review an article, or rather a series of articles, rather than a brief book notice. We can only call attention to four leading topics, quite fully discussed by Dr. Blyden.

1. The permanence of race distinctions, as illustrated in the known history of the Negro. Dr. Blyden insists on the reality of certain well-defined types among men. He is fully convinced that the distinctiveness of these types is sufficiently exact to warrant the certainty of endurance. He fortifies this general position by proofs which go to show, not only the undesirability, but the impracticability, of mingling these types so as to efface the original race distinctions. He does not, of course, deny the unity of the race, resting as it does, in the fact of a common origin; nor does he call in question the universal brotherhood of mankind, but hopes to realize that lofty idea, in due time. He is, however, profoundly convinced that the only hope for the proper development of special types of men, such as the Negro, is to allow them to expand along lines, peculiar to themselves—lines which are easily noted by the careful observer, and which are not only in keeping with the fixed environments of the particular race, but natural to his special traits. In illustration of this point, he maintains that the Negro can never reach the full dignity of human nature—can never become a man of full stature, so long as he lives under the domination of white men, who, for the time at least, may be called a superior race. Not that white men are constitutionally greater than black men, but their development is much more advanced, giving them a present superiority over the African, and this present apparent

superiority is greatly enhanced by the fact that the Negro has stood in the relation of a slave to the whites in some countries for a period of two hundred and fifty years. This former relation of master and slave has intensified the white man's sense of superiority until he claims a *natural* superiority over the African; considers the Negro as not only inferior *now*, but destined to be always inferior; and for this reason his natural influence is to reduce the Negro to the position of a dependant—to make of him a hewer of wood and drawer of water. The result of this attitude of the white man to the black is detrimental to the orderly development of the distinct race features of the Negro, wherever and whenever he comes in contact with white men. It reduces him to servility as a rule. If he rises from this to a more dignified position, he is still only an imitator, seeking to be and to do, to think, to talk and to dress as does the white man—to depreciate his own race form, to underrate his capabilities, and even to hope that in a future world he may be changed into a white man.

This is all unnatural; destructive to any sense of race dignity, and real race development. The peculiar race qualities of the Negro are rated high by Dr. Blyden. They must be developed under more favorable circumstances than those offered by his connection with a dominating white race; and amid scenes that are congenial to the peculiarities of the race.

2. The inadequacy of Christian missions as at present conducted in Africa. This is a delicate subject, and here Dr. Blyden is apt to be misunderstood. Sentimental enthusiasts devoted to the service of men of all races, conceived of as really brethren notwithstanding many and very emphatic race differences, are quite ready to take the alarm, when a man of a special race intimates that they are not particularly effective in their chosen task of preaching the Gospel to the needy of *all* races. Boards of management of foreign missionary enterprises are inclined to suspicion when the wisdom of their administration is called in question, and the success of their operations is even mildly challenged. The critic can very easily be made to say, that the fault is with the *men* who represent the work, with the *truth* which the effort seeks to inculcate, and so the criticism can be resolved into an attack upon Christian character and the Christian system, as these are represented in Christian foreign missions. Dr. Blyden *may* have been misunderstood at this point in some quarters. Canon Taylor, in his injudicious, unproven, and hence worthless strictures on Christian missions in the Orient, has made use of some materials gathered from Dr. Blyden's book, in such a way as to produce the impression that the latter is hostile to Christian missions among Asiatic and African peoples. It might be thought, from Canon Taylor, that our author is content to allow the ancient, decayed, Christian religions, which have survived in the Orient, and Mohammedanism, wherever it is found, to keep the field. But nothing is further from the truth. Dr. Blyden simply judges from observation, that missions conducted by white men, living in colonies (mainly) on the coast of Africa, which colonies are the seats of large trading operations, and are, consequently, the centres from which the vices of godless whites spread like a contagion to the natives, are not the *best*, certainly not the *only*, instrumentality for the propagation of the Gospel among pagan and Mohammedan Africans. His idea is quite firmly expressed that the white man is debarred from large success as a missionary in Africa by constitutional disabilities. He cannot live in the coast climate without great peril to his health. Indeed, it is said that hardly one in a score of whites escapes without serious injury to bodily health. This physical demoralization produces fretfulness of temper, incapacity to view things through a clear medium, and consequent failure to form accurate judgments as to the material with which they are to work, and inability to

put forth vigorous efforts to accomplish the task upon which they have entered. Then, again, the attitude of the white man to the native African is unsatisfactory. He misjudges him. While anxious to benefit him, he unconsciously, perhaps, but nevertheless surely, reduces his convert to a dependent condition, sets him on the task of imitation, and thus leaves the real manhood undeveloped. And yet, again, the required outfit of the white missionary is too elaborate to allow prompt and rapid movements among the natives, and by the very fact of its luxuriousness (speaking comparatively) tends to separate the foreigner from the native. At this point the Arab teacher of Islam has a great advantage.

These are some of the reasons afforded by our author for the statement, that missions, conducted by white men among Negroes in Africa, have not been largely successful. He is quite sure that the Christian Negro must be summoned home from his exile to take up this work of evangelizing and elevating Africa along normal lines, as the *main present* instrument, and then the native Christian must largely do the rest.

3. The strength of the Mohammedan propaganda in Africa, and the method to be used in the attempt to lead Mohammedan Negroes to Christ. Dr. Blyden informs us, that there are now probably 60,000,000 of Negroes in Africa who have embraced the Mohammedan faith. He gives a very interesting account of the improvement wrought among pagan tribes by the doctrine of Islam. In a material point of view, this change is quite striking. Through the vast region of Nigritia, the traveler will find villages, towns and even cities, with an orderly government, well-tilled fields, valuable properties, and many unmistakable evidences of civilization, such as manufactures, a varied trade, and a decided propensity to travel. On the spiritual side, he does not doubt that Mohammedanism is a great gain over the original idolatrous heathenism and deformed fetichism. At the point of education, he avers, from extended personal investigation, that the Arab propagandists have instructed the negroes in Koranic religion and literature, until there may be found in almost every village a mosque with its prayerful worshipers, a very generally diffused knowledge of the Arabic language, and a familiarity with the tenets of the Koran that is quite surprising. In this connection our author has spoken in very high, perhaps, incautious terms, of the good and salutary truths of the Koran. We do not say that he has actually overstated the Koranic doctrine of "one God" as over against the crude and degraded conceptions of the pagan Negroes; or that he has unduly estimated the moral pieces of the Koran, as compared with the debased habits of heathenism. But, in his anxiety to give a proper estimate of Islam in contrast with Negro paganism—viewed as a preparation for something better, *and that only*, he may have left the general impression on the mind of the hasty reader, that he unduly exalts the good of the Koran, while he leaves the gross faults of the book too much in the background: and, thus, there may have crept into the mind of some readers that Dr. Blyden is almost willing to leave the Negroes of Africa to the spiritual care of Islam. We are sure that our author has no such thought. If such an opinion might be derived from a hasty consideration of *some* of the statements of his volume, a perusal of his pamphlet, entitled "Islam and Christian Missions," will at once correct the mistake. He has there drawn as complete and satisfactory a contrast between the religion of Christ and of Mohammed as could well be packed in so limited a space. He has shown the utter insufficiency of Islam to reconcile man to God, or to elevate him to a true, spiritual manhood. He has presented with uncommon force the hopeless defects of the system, and in contrast exhibited, with singular clearness, the absoluteness, the all sufficiency, the soleness of the Christian religion to save sinful men, and to exalt them to a real spiritual

character. While Dr. Blyden is not as hopeless as many in his view of Mohammedanism, as a preparatory stage leading up from paganism to Christianity, he is, nevertheless, emphatic in his statement that, viewed as a *final belief*, Islam is a hopeless doom for mankind.

We had intended to enlarge somewhat upon Dr. Blyden's view as to the best method to be used by the Christian missionary, in the attempt to lead the Mohammedan Negroes to Christ, but the space allowed forbids. In a word, he would simply use the best tenets of Islam, as a bridge over which to lead the disciple of the prophet to Christ. In this he is only following the most distinguished apologists of the apologetic and polemic periods of the early Church, in their efforts to lead the followers of Plato to Christ. They simply acknowledged whatever was true in the natural religion, and the ethics of Platonism; then met the disciples of this system of philosophy, who asserted that natural religion and ethics were adequate to meet the wants of men, with the assertion and proof of their total inadequacy, and then moved forward to prove that the Christian religion is perfect, full and sufficient to meet all the religious wants of a sinful race. Just so would Dr. Blyden lead the Mohammedan on from his imperfect scheme to the perfect way set forth in Christ.

4. Our author's discussion of the Negro problem in the United States, and the solution he offers, is the most interesting one in the book, but we cannot enlarge upon it. In a word, he holds that the negro is in exile here. He should return home. He can never reach a true manhood here. He can in Africa. He can be of little use, comparatively, here. He can take part in the regeneration of a mighty race, if he returns to the shores from which he was forced away 300 years ago. He would say, with Bishop Haven after visiting Liberia, "that the solution of Africa in America, is America in Africa, and, further, that the solution of Africa in Africa, is Africa in America." Colonization on a large scale is his proposition to the Negroes in America. Of course, there are two sides to this, but there is much food for thought in the suggestion.

The volume on which we have commented is defective as a book proposing a continuous treatment of a given subject, for it seems to be made up of review articles and addresses written at different times and prompted by special occasions, thus involving a good deal of repetition. But notwithstanding this defect, taken as a whole, the discussions are timely, interesting and able.

Chicago.

WILLIS G. CRAIG.

JOHN G. PATON, *Missionary to the New Hebrides. An Autobiography.* 12mo, pp. 375. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Second Part. 12mo, pp. 382. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

AMONG THE CANNIBALS OF NEW GUINEA. *Being the Story of the New Guinea Mission of the London Missionary Society.* By Rev. S. MACFARLANE, LL.D., F.R.G.S., etc. 12mo, pp. 192. Philadelphia: Pres. Board of Publication, etc.

Few things are more needful, few would be more helpful to the ministry and the Church, in the development of Christian character and the fulfillment of Christian duty, than minute and exact knowledge of what the world is without the Gospel, and what the Gospel has proved itself able to do in "the habitations of cruelty." Books like Mr. Paton's wonderful autobiography and Dr. Macfarlane's "Among the Cannibals" supply just this needful and stimulating knowledge.

Mr. Paton's ecclesiastical connection was with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland; Dr. Macfarlane is a missionary of the London Missionary Society. Mr. Paton early proved himself one of the men whom the Church at home "cannot spare;" his ten years of service and success in the Glasgow City Mission established this fact beyond a question. That such a man should go out to be eaten by cannibals! But cannibals and worms—he had no choice between them. His absolute devotion, his wisdom and tact, his fearlessness in the midst of great and constant perils, and his indomitable faith, make this sketch, recast by a brother's hand, one of the most stimulating as well as one of the most instructive of recent missionary biographies. The last chapters of Part i, "Deepening Shadows" and "Farewell Scenes," bring us to a time of apparent failure—one of the junctures when faith turns to assurances such as the Lord gave to Habakkuk: "For the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie; though it tarry, wait for it." The missionary needs to be a predestinationist.

The first part of this memoir made so deep an impression, that several thousand copies of the second were called for in Great Britain in advance of publication, and six editions were issued in about three months. The period covered is the last twenty-seven years; the scene of Mr. Paton's missionary labor is Ariwa, another island of the same group; since 1876 his ecclesiastical connection has been with the Free Church of Scotland, which adopted the New Hebrides Mission at the union of the two churches. The story of his labors and rewards in his new field is told with rare simplicity, vividness and power. One of the most effective chapters is that in which by an overwhelming array of facts and testimonies he buries "pretty effectually" the "brute-in-human-shape theory" with reference to the Australian blacks. A passage in a sermon of Charles Kingsley aroused him to "let the light of practical knowledge stream in on this and all similar teaching, come from whatsoever quarter it may."

One of Mr. Paton's most important services has been rendered in his occasional visits to the churches of Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania, and the home churches of Great Britain, which he stirred as only the rarest of men could have done to new interest and effective support. Few recent missionary volumes have received or have merited such a welcome as these.

The work of Dr. Macfarlane and his colleagues, with the native helpers whom they took from the Loyalty islands, was begun in 1871. Two years after this "The Story of the Lifu Mission," by Dr. Macfarlane, told how these islanders had come in their turn to be evangelists of the rarest energy, courage and consecration. And now sons of New Guinea cannibals, who had themselves been cannibals, are members and officers of Christian churches, and eager preachers of the Gospel to the heathen tribes in the interior of their great island. The climate is terrible, having proved fatal to over a hundred members of the mission (p. 186). Many districts are very difficult of access. The people "are dreadful savages and cannibals, great warriors, and very treacherous." "That is enough," said one of the teachers to whom all these facts were told; "wherever there are people, missionaries must go." And now among other results of labor and rewards of faith, there are connected with the mission two training institutions preparing sixty or more students for pastoral and evangelistic work. Such recitals as are contained in these volumes, should humble, shame and arouse the Church at home to new proofs of its real relationship and loyalty to our Lord. At the London Missionary Conference Dr. Macfarlane brought out other facts of great interest in regard to the methods employed in training the five thousand natives whom he had been permitted to baptize, and those (nearly one hundred in number) who had been sent out as helpers. An unusual fact, full of promise in connection

with the further prosecution of missionary work in other parts of the island, was brought out by Dr. Schreiber, in the statement that in all the possessions of the German New Guinea Company all selling of rum or brandy to the natives has been strictly interdicted.

Princeton.

CHARLES A. AIKEN.

ABRAHAM: THE TYPICAL LIFE OF FAITH. By DAVID R. BREED, D.D.,
Pastor of the Church of the Covenant, Chicago. Chicago: C. H.
Whiting, 44 Madison Street.

It is a well-known fact that much of the useful religious literature in our libraries is the result of the labor of busy pastors in preparing for their usual Sabbath services. In this class of writings we are not to expect, of course, the more formal and critical discussion of profound theological problems, but what is also important, and to the general reader essential, we are to look for the fresh, simple and practical presentation of the truth, in its bearings upon life and character. Of this nature is Dr. Breed's work. The author will be recognized as one of our most active and successful pastors, and the book here given us is the product, evidently, of his ordinary preparation for the pulpit. Not frightened by the stale aphorism touching the fruitlessness of threshing old straw, Dr. Breed assumes wisely, that in Scripture there is no old straw, and he takes for his theme, Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, and in eight well written chapters discusses: "The Free Choice; or, Abraham's Migration;" "The Avowal of Religion; or, Abraham's Altar;" "The Everlasting Covenant; or, Abraham the Founder of the Church;" "The Believer and the World; or, Abraham the Stranger and Sojourner;" "The Believer's Private Life; or, Abraham the Friend of God;" "The Sanctification of the Believer; or, the Mistakes of Abraham;" "The Foundation of the Life of Faith; or, Abraham's Redeemer;" "The Peaceful End; or, The Last Days of Abraham." A glimpse at these headings will be sufficient to show how original, comprehensive and practical is his treatment. Under Dr. Breed's skillful touch, fresh light and beauty are thrown upon the life of this noble man of God, and no one can read these pages carefully without being stimulated to renewed consecration to God and activity in His cause.

A map and chart illustrating the journeyings and life of Abraham accompany the book.

Tecumseh, Neb.

W. W. HARSHA.

The following works in this department deserve notice:

Beginning Life. A Series of Sermons to the Young. By the Rev. Charles Wood, D.D. (Presbyterian Board of Publication.) The sermons in this volume are not simply addressed, but also adapted, to the young. They take up the matters which are fitted to instruct and guide them that are in the morning of life, such as Friendships, Reading, Habits, Temptations, Home, etc., and offer suggestions of great value. The style is lucid and the tone serious and stimulating, and there is a freshness and vigor in the method of presentation which challenges attention. Dr. Wood has produced a very useful volume.—*Forms for Special Occasions, with Scripture Selections for the Chamber of Sickness, the House of Mourning and the Service of Funerals.* By Herrick Johnson, D.D. (Chicago: C. H. Whiting.) This neat manual, though by no means perfect, has many excellencies. The Scriptures which make up about one-half of it are well selected and arranged and follow the text of the Revised Version; the forms cover nearly all the occasions of service; they are short, Scriptural and of the right tenor; and must needs be of

essential service to the younger ministry. But the prayers that are interspersed seem to us to lack the true liturgical tone, which, however, is a thing of rare occurrence. Dr. George W. Bethune once prepared a prayer for a funeral and one for a marriage, which equal anything of Bishop Wilson or Jeremy Taylor, but his mantle did not fall on Dr. Johnson. When the author (p. 111) asks the people to "baptize this ministry to the poor with your daily prayers," the rhetoric is sadly at fault. But his forms for the reception into full communion are excellent in that they omit the reciting of an extended creed, a *purpureus pannus*, borrowed from Independency, and wholly alien to the letter and spirit of Presbyterianism. In the office for the dedication of a church there is a brief responsive service, a feature which might well have been introduced into other forms.—*Selections from Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress for every day in the Year*. Made by Fannie M. Jessup. (Presbyterian Board.) This nicely printed little book surprises one by the richness and variety of the short quotations which can be made from the work of the immortal dreamer. Of course, they are all in accordance with Scripture and fitted to edify.—*The Church in Modern Society*. By Julius H. Ward. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) This volume contains much interesting thought and seeks a very worthy aim. Holding the Church to be one of the three great permanent institutions of society, the Family and the State being the other two, the writer inquires why it has not fulfilled its function more perfectly, and finds the cause to be the want of concentration, the waste of power in needless action and idle friction, and the devotion to mere ecclesiasticism. The force of Mr. Ward's strictures is sensibly abated by the looseness of his own theological views. Thus he says that the Presbyterians "have crystallized their faith around certain religious dogmas which are both affirmed and denied in the Holy Scriptures," which leads us to say that one who thus converts the Bible into a Mr. Facing-both-ways, should hardly set up to be a religious teacher. Mr. Ward favors at times an organic union, and at others a federation, of the churches of the United States, but hardly takes the best way to bring about either. Having himself very vague conceptions of doctrinal truth, he naturally welcomes with warmth Dr. Briggs' "Whither?" as an ally in his pursuit.—*Saturday Afternoon, or Conversations for the Culture of the Christian Life*. By Wayland Hoyt, D.D. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.) The choice of the first title of this interesting volume is explained by the fact that the author, wishing to instruct his people in the nature of the Christian life, and finding the Sunday sermon too formal for his purpose, and the midweek prayer-meeting too fragmentary, devoted an hour on Saturday afternoon to this service. His familiar talks on these occasions being reported for the *National Baptist*, he was induced to select from the reports those which make up this book. They are well worth reading, and we think that their informal, unstudied and practical character will win the attention of many and be for their permanent good. Just now, amid so much hurried bustling activity in outward things, there needs to be endeavor and persistency in the culture of the Christian life.—*Liberty and Life*. Discourses. By E. P. Powell. (Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co.) A collection of essays by a member of the extreme left wing of the Unitarian body. It is full of errors and misrepresentations. The only sensible thing in it is a reply to the *divina fides* theory of canonicity: "When you say that the only absolute proof of your book is the inward work of the Holy Spirit in our hearts, you simply say that we cannot discuss whether the Scriptures are inspired until we believe they are" (p. 125). This is well put, and it shows how sadly the cause is betrayed by those who say that the only way to prove the canon of Scripture is Divine faith.—*Believing and Doing*. Sermons. By Lewis H. Reid. (New York: Randolph & Co.) A complete contrast to

the volume just named. Mr. Reid is not brilliant, nor profound, but he is sensible, Scriptural and practical. His discourses are adapted to be useful, and may be warmly commended to all in search of something to supply the place of the living preacher. Mr. Reid has something to say, and he says it with precision and force. In mining regions and elsewhere there are places where a religious service can be maintained only by a layman's reading of short, lively and interesting sermons, and it is very desirable that the proper books should be at hand for such a purpose.

New York.

T. W. CHAMBERS.

V.—ASSYRIOLOGY.

ASSYRISCHE GRAMMATIK. Mit Paradigmen, Uebungsstücken, Glossar, und Litteratur. Von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH. Berlin: Reuther, 1889. 8vo, pp. 364. [Porta linguarum orientalium, Pars x. Also translated into English.]

No late Assyriological publication marks so plainly and decisively the wonderful advance that has been made in the study of the language of Babylon and Nineveh as this excellent grammar. Oppert's "*Éléments de la grammaire assyrienne*" appeared in 1860. It was left far behind by Hincks' "*Specimen Chapters of an Assyrian Grammar*," published in 1866. In 1872 were issued Schrader's "*Die assyrisch-babylonischen Keilinschriften*" and Sayce's "*Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes*." These are now regarded by their authors as well as other scholars as antiquated. A new era began with the teaching of Assyrian in Germany by Prof. Schrader, in Berlin, and his pupil, Delitzsch, in Leipzig. The systematic, thorough, comprehensive system of teaching of Delitzsch soon led to the founding of a school, both critical and progressive. His own publications had not, up to the present work, dealt specially with the grammar of the language; but it is largely to his lectures as well as to incidental suggestions in his writings that the progress in this department has been made which has culminated in the book before us. The list of his pupils who have promoted the grammatical study of Assyrian is already quite a long one. Foremost among them as an investigator of the forms of the language is Prof. Haupt, of Baltimore, from whom, at one time, a complete grammar was expected. Schrader's influence, which has also been strong, has been mainly on the side of sober conservatism in things grammatical. Valuable contributions to one question or another have been made among younger scholars in France and England, such as Pognon, the lamented Guyard, and Pinches, of the British Museum. The fruits of this steady many-sided work of criticism, along with the author's own discoveries and theories, have been brought together in this well-arranged and usable volume. A rather skeleton-like introduction (pp. 1-10) tells in the briefest possible form the main facts about the history of the excavations, to which we owe almost all that is known of the language and literature, the history of the decipherment of the cuneiform characters, and of the progress that has been made in the understanding of the grammar, ending with a classification of the contents of the literature. The several divisions of the grammar proper are treated with great thoroughness. Among all the Semitic languages, Assyrian claims naturally the most attention in the subject of writing, and it is therefore in place that the author should devote a great deal of space to this rubric (pp. 11-71). What is essential to the understanding of the development of the cuneiform writing

is given in a few pages, and then follows a table of characters which is sufficient at least for the more common texts, the ideograms that are explained, as well as their values, being selected for practical purposes. The arrangement of the table, however, is not so practical. The first division contains the signs for the so-called simple syllables, according to the order of the Roman alphabet, in which their phonetic values are given. Then, in the same division, are given the meanings of the same signs when used as ideograms. The second division of the table gives the compound syllables, accompanied also by their ideographic values, but arranged according to the form of the sign on the plan generally followed in lists of these characters. Finally, there is a list of ideograms which have no current syllabic values. The usefulness of the table to the beginner must be seriously impaired by this threefold classification, especially as, in the first division, no fixed order is followed that can help the student to find any given sign of the class. A much more helpful plan is that followed in the author's "*Lesestücke*," where, after the simple syllables are enumerated by themselves, all the signs are arranged in the usual order in one large table, with the phonetic and ideographic values in separate columns.

The only other remark to be made here upon this portion of the work has reference to § 25, which appears in small type as a sort of appendix, but which has probably excited more interest than any other part of the work. It deals with the so-called Sumerian question, under the caption, "*Zur Frage der Schrifterfindung*." The author shows that many of the phonetic values of the characters are really borrowed from Semitic Assyrian, and not from any foreign source. He calls attention to the remarkable fact that the system of sounds in Assyrian agrees suspiciously with that claimed for the Sumerian, and comes to the general conclusion that the writing points to a Semitic Assyrian and not a non-Semitic origin. From this, he passes to an attempted demonstration that there is no evidence that such a thing as a Sumerian language or a Sumerian literature ever really existed. Space does not admit of an enumeration or criticism of the arguments he advances, especially as this most important question is to be fully dealt with in an early number of the REVIEW. A remark, however, may be permitted as supplementing the facts cited by Delitzsch. Some of the most common and many sided of the alleged Sumerian words are really *rarer* or *fanciful* Assyrian words set apart for the express purpose of naming the several signs. With the general attitude of distrust towards the Sumerian theory, an increasing number of Assyriologists are finding themselves in accord.

On the subject of sounds, the grammar is full and instructive. In maintaining the separate existence of an *e* vowel, the author, with Haupt, ought, we think, to be adjudged to be in the right as against Schrader and Hommel. The difficulties of the question are, however, not concealed. The guarded conclusion of § 30 on the matter may be quoted in substance: "Already in the earliest times *ê*, especially when it arose from *ai*, must have had a strong inclination to the *i* sound; while, further, the tendency to pronounce *e* as *i* continued steadily to gain ground, perhaps especially in common speech. This explains the early uncertainty in the graphical representation of the *e* and *i* vowels, which undermined the historical method of writing them." In the present most unsatisfactory state of learned opinion as to all the Semitic vowel systems—for the physiological or true phonological study of the subject has not yet begun, and the defects in the representation of the vowels render a merely empirical treatment inconclusive—this is perhaps as far as it is safe to go. I would diffidently suggest that the facts may be put somewhat more definitely. Assyrian, with all the other Semitic languages, had an *e* sound from the beginning, and had also a strong tendency as, for example, is shown in English, to modify some *a* sounds in the same direction.

Different shades of "e," however, were produced under different conditions. When *a* was followed by *y*, a glide was the result, giving rise to a sound which was enough of an *e* to be represented by the comprehensive sign employed for the representation of the group of *e* sounds, but which approached the *i* group so closely as to speedily become an *i*. But in the case of *a* as modified by a guttural or by the influence of an *i* in the next syllable, a more characteristic and stable *e* was produced which could normally be retained and represented by the *e* sign. In any case, it is both physiologically impossible and out of harmony with historical analogy (even with the much misunderstood Arabic system) to suppose that the stock of vowels was limited to three sounds. The vowel signs, as in Arabic, represented only groups of sounds, which shaded off into one another so gradually that the same sound might be and was often variously classified; hence most of the apparent inconsistencies in their graphical expression in the inscriptions.

The subject of the forms of the language is treated with great thoroughness and fullness. The sections on the noun-stems and the particles, as well as those on the weak verbs, call for special commendation on account of the large number of examples cited, the meanings of many of which we owe to the author himself. The list of noun-stems is not quite complete. The form *fu'il*, for example, occurs, represented, for instance, by *huribtu*, "waste." In § 72, as to the form of the construct plural, the cases in which a plural ending disappears entirely are not mentioned, *e. g.*, *ardāni dāgil pānī'a*. Referring for a moment to the treatment of the verb forms, it is to be noticed with approval that Delitzsch does not adopt the current theory that the "Permansive" is adapted from the participle. He says (§ 87 *b*) that the stem *kašid* (*kašud*) is one with the noun stem *fa'il* (*fa'ul*). This approaches nearly to the theory (see "The Semitic Perfect in Assyrian," in the "Transactions of the Leyden Congress" of 1883) that the permansive of the Kal as well as of the derived stems is really an inflected infinitive. This is plain from two main considerations: first, the fact now become familiar, that the permansive and the infinitives of all the stems may be used both actively and passively; second, that the regular form of the permansive *šakin* is also one of the forms of the infinitive. This fact Delitzsch has omitted to mention in his grammar; but there are several sure instances of such an infinitive form.

The syntax, which is reasonably full (pp. 323-364), is especially welcome as the first serious attempt to deal with the subject as a whole. It is replete with useful and suggestive remarks.

A word should be said as to the suitableness of the book to the wants of beginners. It belongs to a series intended to provide simple practical introductions to the study of the Oriental languages. It differs from the rest of the group in being also theoretical throughout. This may be excused on the ground that so much that is new and needing defense or ample illustration is contained in the book, and also that the science is not yet past the stage of suspicion and criticism. The abundance of examples, however, and the excellent paradigms must make the grammar practically useful to students entering upon the study of the language. The chrestomathy might have been lengthened with advantage. The "literature" is admirable.

Toronto.

J. F. McCurdy.

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR ALTORIENTALISCHEN GESCHICHTE. Von
HUGO WINCKLER. Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1889. 8vo,
pp. ix and 157.

Dr. Winckler is one of a band of young Berlin Assyriologists, who are rapidly entering into the field so brilliantly won by the tireless labors of men

like Delitzsch, Schrader, Rawlinson and others, whose names have become classical in the history of cuneiform discovery. This Berlin school may be said to find its centre in Dr. Schrader, who, though a veteran in the service, has inspired these younger men with his own enthusiasm. In collaboration with him, they are at present preparing improved editions of the most important historical texts, and are at the same time pushing their own investigation deeper and deeper into the mysteries of Babylonian and Assyrian literature and history.

Dr. Winckler's tastes evidently tend to historical studies, and his most important work is the publication, with the coöperation of Ludwig Abel, of the various Sargon texts.

In the work before us, following in the line, which Prof. Tiele has ably marked out in his "Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte," he treats some of the leading problems of ancient history and shows the advances which are being almost daily made in our understanding of the social and political conditions among the inhabitants of the Mesopotamian valleys. The sources whence our knowledge of the dynasties of Babylonia and Assyria are derived have recently been quite materially enlarged, as can be seen by comparing page 1 of Winckler's book with Tiele's "Geschichte," i, 18. Also, the king who, until within a year or two, was spoken of as Tiglath-Pileser II (and who is identified with Pul of 2 Kgs. xv, 19), is now known to be the third of that name.

The breadth of the writer's view is seen in the variety of subjects he discusses. Not only does he deal with Babylonian and Assyrian chronology, the place of the Chaldeans in history, and the ancient Mesopotamian kingdoms, but also with the relations of the Sargonids to Egypt, and with Median and Old Persian history.

The essay on Chronology does not handle the most entertaining of subjects, neither does it seem to lead to any very definite or new conclusion. A careful comparison is made of the various chronological sources, to discover the most reliable witness; this affords an opportunity for a polemic against Hommel. To thread one's way through the tangled mazes of Babylonian history is a task of no ordinary difficulty; not only are there dynasties of which we have but a few unmeaning names, but there were probably also contemporaneous dynasties. Yet our author is not daunted, but thinks we may assume 2226-2210 B.C. as the period of Hammurabi, the great founder of Babylonian unity. He sets 3100 as the limit of present historical discovery, and questions the proposed date of 3750 for Sargon I. Until further light breaks forth from the monuments, he believes we must leave Sargon of Agade and his son Naram-Sin in the darkness of an unchronological antiquity.

The essay on "The Place of the Chaldeans in History" is an interesting setting forth of the struggles of that branch of the Semitic race to establish themselves in Babylonia and their success in the dynasty of which Nebuchadnezzar was the most brilliant example.

In his third essay, he discusses the nature and number of the different Mesopotamian kingdoms. Here Dr. Winckler raises the question of the significance of the royal titles assumed by the kings of Babylon and Nineveh, who call themselves, kings of Sumer and Akkad, kings of the four regions (*Kibrat arba?*), kings of hosts (*Kišsat*). These, he contends, are not merely appellations piled up indiscriminately, but they point to the gradual assimilation of different principalities into one vast empire. The ordinary view has been that Akkad means North Babylonia: Sumer, the southern realm. The favorite theory of the writer is that the term "Sumer and Akkad" refers to the southern kingdom alone. He conceals that Akkad is used of the north, but claims that in this case the word has a different origin and application. He considers further, *Kibrat arba?* peculiar to a North Babylonian kingdom, since this title was assumed by Assyrian kings who had conquered North

Babylonia but not Babylon itself. *Šar kiššat*, king of hosts, is the title most frequently adopted by Assyrian kings, and this also is traced to North Babylonia. It is strongly urged that the term had its origin in a kingdom from which Assur was an offshoot, and that, having gained complete independence, she adopted as her royal title, that which had been peculiar to the mother kingdom. It is instructive as well as interesting to observe how much ancient history, and how many political revolutions may thus be condensed into a line or two of royal appellatives.

The essay on "The Sargonids and Egypt" deals with a period in which there is less conjecture, and a greater richness of material, some of which has quite recently been brought to light.

Among the notes near the end, we observe a derivation of *Rab saris*, which strikes us as rather fanciful, viz., that it is an Assyrian translation of *Rab sag* (rabshakeh) and should read *rab ša riš*—the Rab who is chief.

The cuneiform texts in autograph, which are appended to this volume, form one of its most valuable features, in that they place within easy reach the most important documents bearing on ancient chronology.

In conclusion, this contribution to the history of the Orient emphasizes anew the need, not only of more scholars to take hold of the work of translation and publication of the materials we possess, but of those who will aid in the thorough exploration of the ruins in the valley of the Euphrates, where, we may be certain, lie buried the solution of many problems which obscure not only our knowledge of the ancient empires of Mesopotamia, but also our proper understanding of early Biblical history.

Chicago.

A. S. CARRIER.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND VERGLEICHENDEN SEMITISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT. Herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH und PAUL HAUPT mit Unterstützung der Johns Hopkins Universität zu Baltimore. Erster Band, Heft i. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1889.

A publication devoted to Assyriology and comparative Semitic philology, containing cuneiform texts in lithograph and transliteration, under the management of the younger Delitzsch and Haupt, with these linguists as chief contributors, is of course technical, scholarly, fresh, and to Semitic students indispensable. The work under review is a magazine, though not a periodical; in its diffidence it proposes to be an occasional visitor merely, not dropping in at stated intervals, but only at such times as in its own judgment matter satisfactory in quality as well as sufficient in quantity justifies its appearance.

A portrait of Grotefend, the first to decipher the cuneiform characters, faces the title-page; and a catalogue of the books, essays and reviews written by him forms part of the contents.

Nestle, in a brief article on the *verba mediæ* **𐤍** in Syriac, reaches the two-fold conclusion, important in the comparative study of the Semitic languages: 1. That under the influence of an old tradition the Nestorians uniformly treat the **𐤍** in these verbs as a strong consonant, not transferring its vowel to a preceding vowelless consonant; and, 2. That when as among the Syrians of the west the vowel is thrown back, the **𐤍** is at the same time assimilated to the preceding consonant and the latter consequently reduplicated.

Steindorff writes upon "the cuneiform reproduction of Egyptian proper names." As is well known, Rawlinson and Ragozin, Ebers and Wiedemann, and Schrader, all of whom have expressed their opinion during the last decade,

identify נִיֹּס, "possibly to be pronounced נִיֹּס," the king of Egypt to whom Hoshea of Israel appealed for help against Assyria (2 Kgs. xvii, 4), not only with Sib'e the Egyptian tartan (cp. Winckler's variant, *tur-ta-nu*, "Sargon-texte" 31, No. 65, 25), who according to the cuneiform inscriptions aided Hanun of Gaza against Sargon in 720 B. C., but also these with Sabako, the first king of the twenty-fifth Egyptian dynasty. Steindorff, who like Delitzsch (Par. 308) rightly reads Sib'e and not Shab'e as Schrader (KAT² 269, 21, especially 587), accepts the former identification but disputes the latter; and he does so for the following reasons: 1. The chronological difficulty. According to Manetho, Sabakon reigned eight or twelve years, Sebikos fourteen or twelve, Tarakos eighteen or twenty. For Sabako twelve and for Tahraço twenty-six years are monumentally attested. There are no dated memorials of Sabataka known. As it can be proven that Psammetich I began his reign in 664-663, and the rule of Tenotamon over Egypt can have lasted but a few months, the commencement of Sabako's reign (at least over Egypt) must be assigned to the year 716. As the length ascribed by Manetho to Tirhakah's reign is proven by the monuments to be erroneous, Manetho's other numbers may likewise be inaccurate; and Steindorff justly admits the possibility that Sabako may have been "King of Egypt as early as 725 B. C.—cp. 2 Kgs. xvii, 4—though this assumption is by no means necessary." 2. The difficulty from the title. It is strange that Sib'e should be called, not "King of Egypt and Ethiopia," but only tartan of Egypt. Schrader and Rawlinson would avoid this objection; the former considering Sib'e to have been in 720 B. C., "still king of Ethiopia only;" the latter conjecturing that "though master of a portion of Egypt," he "had not assumed the royal title which was still borne by a native prince of little power—Bocchoris or Sethos." 3. The difficulty from antecedent history. In view of the ill success which his ancestor had in the delta, it is little credible that in 720 Sabako had so far subjugated the valley of the Nile and especially the independent potentate of Lower Egypt and felt so secure in his position as to be able to turn his back on Egypt and undertake an expedition to Syria. 4. The chief difficulty is etymological. The transition of the Egyptian *k* into the cuneiform *ḫ* is not only in itself surprising; but, what is more, later Assyrian inscriptions transcribe Sabakō exactly as the name appears on the monuments of Egypt, namely Shabakû (V. R., 2, 22), reproducing like the Greeks the termination *kō* as a syllable with a long vowel. Steindorff accordingly concludes that "Sib'e, the antagonist of Sargon, was" not Sabako but "one of the numerous independent petty kings of Egypt."

Delitzsch furnishes two articles, filling seventy-six pages. The lengthier is the first of a series of papers treating of Assyro-Babylonian letters by means of transliteration, translation and commentary. Not promising a sudden and brilliant yield, this mine has only comparatively lately been opened. Its careful working, however, is certain in the end to bring to light long-buried information concerning the ordinary social and religious life of the people. The character of Dr. Delitzsch shines brightly in this article by reason of the courtesy shown an abusive critic. The text of several of the letters which the genial Leipzig professor translates has been published by his critic, and constant reference is necessarily made to the latter; but there is no evidence of bitterness. Defects of theory are indeed pointed out, and errors corrected; but likewise excellencies are heartily commended.

Haupt, however, is the chief contributor; every other article is from his pen, eight out of the fifteen, 189 pages out of the 368. In pursuance of an express aim of the publication to eventually bring about uniformity among scholars in the transliteration of the Semitic alphabets, he discusses the transliteration of Arabic.

He contributes an article on Barth's explanation of the prefixed *nun* in noun formations, which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, April, 1887. Of course, since he himself long ago made the same assumption, he agrees with Barth's identification of the formation by prefixed *nun* with that by prefixed *mem*; and denies, except for the *nomen patientis* (see p. 179), the derivation of such nouns from the Niphal. He goes further, however, and fully accepts, as well as confirms by additional examples, the theory, original with Barth, that the use of *nun* instead of *mem* is due to the influence of a labial in the root. In another paper he publishes a long list of such formations.

Haupt also prints the text of the twelfth tablet of the Babylonian Nimrod epic with a commentary thereto. Quite appropriately, as it were to supplement the publication of the text, the same indefatigable worker prints his latest collation of the various fragments and copies of these legends. Among these tales is found, as is well known, the story of the flood. Is the rainbow mentioned therein? Did Istar "raise aloft the great bows which Anu had made?" Haupt formerly considered the sign used in the text "*nim* to be a chirographical error [for another and very similar character meaning 'bow'], occasioned perhaps by the preceding *zumbê*, 'flies,' for which *nim* is an ideogram;" and accordingly rendered the sign by "Kasati" (?), and translated it as "bows" (?) (KAT², S. 59 u. 63). In the glossary, however, he retracted this opinion (S. 517), and now in this collation he reaffirms his retraction on the same ground, viz., that two copies "clearly show *nim*, which is probably connected with the *nim* in the ideogram for flash of lightning."

Enough has been said to reveal the character of the new publication and to indicate the contributions which it has already made to Semitic learning.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

The following works may also be mentioned:

Sammlung von Assyrischen und Babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Uebersetzung. In Verbindung mit Dr. L. Abel, Dr. C. Bezold, Dr. P. Jensen, Dr. F. E. Peiser, Dr. H. Winckler, herausgegeben von Eberhard Schrader. Band i. Mit chronologischen Beigaben und einer Karte von H. Kiepert. (Berlin: H. Reuther's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1889.) This is the first volume of a cuneiform library which is to be published under the editorship in chief of Prof. Schrader, of Berlin. The object of the undertaking is to present in a connected whole, and in chronological order, a transcription and German translation of the cuneiform texts of Assyria and Babylonia. Prof. Schrader's well-known system of transliterations has been followed. This volume brings us down to the end of the reign of Ramman-nirari III, 783 B.C. Supplements contain the so-called synchronous history of Assyria and Babylonia by Drs. Peiser and Winckler, and the Eponymous Lists by Prof. Schrader. The map by Prof. Kiepert is historical, being based on the statements of the inscriptions, and is so colored as to denote as far as possible the extent of the Assyrian empire during any reign from Asurnatsirabal, 885 B.C., till Ramman-nirari III, inclusive. The usefulness of the work is increased by the clearness and fullness of the explanatory remarks in the preface. The use of the hyphen for connecting syllables, which in the original text are denoted by distinct signs, enables those who are acquainted with the Assyrian to judge in most cases as to the probability or certainty of a given transliteration. Translations which are looked upon as merely probable are denoted by a following interrogation point. These common signs are supplemented by foot-notes, giving various readings, corrections, other possible translations and illustrative remarks. The work may be recommended

as embodying the latest results of the researches of Assyriologists. It is full of matter interesting and instructive to the theologian as well as to the historian. Nothing yet published is equal to it in thoroughness and trustworthiness.—*Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals, Königs von Assyrien* (668-626 v. Chr.). Nach dem in London copirten Grundtext mit Transscripten, Uebersetzung, Kommentar und vollständigem Glossar. Von Samuel Alden Smith. Heft iii: Unedirte Briefe, Depeschen, Omentexte, u. s. w. (Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1889.) This number completes the texts published by the author relating to the time of Asurbanipal. In addition to the matter spoken of on the title page, it contains twenty-eight pages of corrections and additional remarks by Theodore G. Pinches, and four pages by Carl Bezold. The author mars his preface by another of his unseemly attacks on Prof. Delitzsch. The general accuracy and reliability of his text are vouched for by Messrs. Pinches and Bezold. Most of his transliterations and translations will be accepted, no doubt, by Assyriologists. We would like to know how the author derives the form *mu-muk-ri-isk-i* from the root *karah* (p. 49). We cannot understand, also, why he should translate *sha i-ra-na-ka-a-ni* by *which love thee* (welche dich lieben), as if the verb were from *raham*, *to love*, when in the note, several pages further on, he says that he does not understand this sentence; that the verb seems to be from *ramak*, *to pour out*; but that this does not seem to him to suit the connection here. In this, as in his other works, Mr. Smith, however, is well carrying out his theory that the interests of Assyriology will best be subserved at present by the publication of unedited texts with transliterations, translations, remarks and vocabularies.—*A Classified List of All Simple and Compound Cuneiform Ideographs Occurring in the Texts Hitherto Published*. With their Assyro-Babylonian equivalents, phonetic values, etc. Compiled by Rudolph E. Brünnow, Ph.D. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1889.) The object of this book is to furnish the student with a convenient and trustworthy work of reference and to save him the labor and time which would be expended in the preparation of a sign list for himself. Such a book has long been needed, as every one knows who has attempted to master the almost innumerable meanings of the cuneiform signs. In view of the difficulties which necessarily accompany the preparation and publishing of such a work, we think that the author and publishers are alike deserving of great praise for its successful completion. There are few scholars who devote merely a portion of their time to Assyrio-Babylonian studies to whom this syllabary will not be a *sine qua non* of pleasurable, profitable, or rapid, original reading of even the simpler inscriptions. One may judge of the magnitude of the undertaking from the fact that it gives 14,487 different signs and phonetic values. Usefulness for reference is enhanced by supplementary lists of non-Semitic and of Semitic phonetic values, and by a cuneiform index.—*Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna*. Heft i. Herausgegeben von Hugo Winckler. Nach den Originalen autographirt von Ludwig Abel. (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1889.) This is the first number of the Communications from the Oriental Collections of the Royal Museum at Berlin. It contains twenty-seven letters, which were written by the kings of Babylonia, Alashiya, Mitani and other countries to kings of Egypt during the fifteenth century B.C. The tablets on which these letters are written were found, in the spring of 1887-88, at El Amarna, in Middle Egypt. About 300 tablets have thus far been recovered, some of which were published by Prof. Sayce and Mr. Budge in the Proceedings of the S. B. A. for June, 1888. The letters published by Dr. Winckler are a part of those which were secured for the Berlin Museum through the liberality of Mr. J. Simon, of Berlin, and the unselfish efforts of Mr. Theodore Graf, of Vienna. Other letters from this collection, containing

the despatches from governors and satraps, will be published in the next number, while a third will contain the remainder. In this first number the two most peculiar letters are one from the king of Atsapi, and another, twelve pages long, from the king of Mitani, the introduction to which is written in Assyrian, but the rest in languages which have not yet been interpreted.

Allegheny.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

VI.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

ESSAYS UPON HEREDITY AND KINDRED BIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS. By AUGUST WEISMANN. Translated by POULTON, etc. Pp. 455. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889.

Weismann's attempt to solve an old problem has excited great interest in scientific circles, and furnishes a fine example of legitimate scientific speculation. When, over two centuries ago, the microscope revealed the spermatozoa, or male reproductive structures, the "animalculist" philosophers fancied that these quasi-animalcules are the real germs, which are to be merely nursed and reared by the eggs, and, consequently, that the offspring entirely came from the male parent. On the other hand, the "ovists" argued that the offspring proceed from the female; and their view seemed to be established by the discovery of parthenogenesis, where female animals produce multitudes of young without any contribution by the male. Later researches have established that there is normally a fusion of nuclear germ-substance derived from both parents; but still the problem remains why this is necessary or even beneficial, and how it is thus possible to transmit ancestral characteristics, and to give rise to variations, so that no two of the same family are identical, and also what is the relation of parthenogenesis to the usual course. This problem exercised Charles Darwin, whose theory of pangenesis was more ingenious than convincing; and it has been subsequently attempted by many other biologists. These have all assumed without sufficient evidence that accidental or acquired peculiarities of parents may be inherited by their posterity, and may even give rise to a permanent variation of race. Thus it was taught that if a cat lost its tail by accident some of its kittens might be born without tails; a doctrine which, if true, ought under the regime of spring-traps to furnish a tailless variety of rat. By reëxamining the evidence, and by original experiments on mice, Weismann has proven that at least in ordinary cases acquired characters are not transmitted; he had more than a thousand mice, all produced from parents whose tails had been amputated, yet none of them had the tail wanting or even short. He has further startled the scientific world with a theory of heredity which, if true, will have wide influence; and of which he justly alleges that whether true or false it must at least be a necessary stage in the advancement of our knowledge. He holds that every animal or plant consists of two parts: (1) an inheritable part, derived from parents and transmissible to offspring; this part, which he terms the germ-plasm, is immortal, being received as living matter, and a portion of it transmitted in its living condition to form the germ of the young, and so on to remote generations; (2) an accessory part, constituting (in all except the lowest organisms) nearly the whole animal or plant, derived from the inherited plasm by the help of nutriment and growth, and not in any way transmissible to posterity. The body is, in fact,

by this theory an outgrowth of the germ-plasm, the living cells of all parts of the body having each of them more or less of the germ-plasm derived from the germ, but having it in too small measure to be capable of reproduction. At every generation part of the germ-plasm contained in the mother-egg is used to form the body of the animal (or plant) and part remains over, enclosed in, but independent of, the animal so formed. It is this residuary part that enters into the daughter-egg or spermatozoum as the germ-plasm of the next generation.

Fertilization he explains as the fusion of the nuclei of the egg and the spermatozoum, their spindle-loops coalescing. He adds to this, that the coalescence of plasm from two parents is the source of the variations which form the basis of the theory of evolution. We can, according to him, transmit to our children the variations which we have derived from our parents, not those caused by events in our personal history; but, as each child combines in himself the plasm of two parents, he will have, as compared with them, a double capacity for variation. A *tendency within the plasm* to contract particular diseases may be transmitted, and it may thus be imagined that the diseases are themselves inherited; thus a tendency to consumption may be heritable, though the disease itself is caused by bacteria. Possibly Weismann would, on the same ground, assent to the common view of hereditary intemperance, as due to a tendency within the germ-plasm. Climate and other persisting influences may slowly (in the course of generations) modify the plasm, and so produce permanent variations, as the tailless races of cats. Weismann deems parthenogenesis a system by which summer-eggs, retaining so much germ-plasm as to dispense with the aid of spermatozoa, quickly produce crowds of offspring; but this is at the expense of forfeiting their power of variation. Hence he supposes that parthenogenetic groups cannot by variations adapt themselves to changes, and that they are on the road to extinction. Any proof of variation among such groups is thus an argument against this part of his theory; and Sidney H. Vines, an English botanist, cites against it the mushrooms, which have long ago lost all sexual distinctions, and yet have shown considerable power of variation.

Princeton.

G. MACLOSIE.

THE CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF IMMANUEL KANT. By EDWARD CAIRD, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Two Volumes. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1889.

KANT'S CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY FOR ENGLISH READERS. By MAHAFFY and BERNARD. Two Volumes. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1889.

These two important works on Kant—the former of which gives the most complete and the most profound exposition of the critical philosophy in English, and the latter supplies probably the most satisfactory medium for the first study of Kant—are mentioned here, only in order to announce that they will be made, along with Stählin's book noticed above (p. 335), the basis of a paper on Kant and his recent critics, by Dr. McCosh, in our July number.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

We notice also:

William Cullen Bryant. By John Bigelow. ["American Men of Letters" Series, Vol. xi.] 12mo, pp. 355. (Boston and New York: Houghton,

Mifflin & Co., 1890.) February has brought us this new and welcome addition to the valuable series in which it will take an honorable rank. Mr. Bryant is now set before us in memoirs by two of the men whose long and intimate relation to him gives the highest value to their recital of the facts of his life, and their delineation and estimate of his character and work. Mr. Godwin's more ample biography leaves full scope and a fair field for Mr. Bigelow's excellent contribution to the gallery in which it takes its place. This appreciative and admiring tribute is still, as might be expected, conspicuously conscientious and just. Mr. Bryant's place among our poets has hardly been open to question since his "Thanatopsis" appeared in the *North American* in 1817; it was the production of a youth seventeen years old. And, looking at the matter from the side of literature, it will hardly be claimed in behalf of any other one of our eminent journalists that he equaled Mr. Bryant in the quality of his literary work, or in making his paper a standard of great value, and of far-reaching influence, in the purity, precision and elevation of its style. Mr. Bryant's personal and religious character are sympathetically and admirably portrayed by Mr. Bigelow. His personality and his career and work embody in many ways a model worthy of study and imitation. The style of the memoir is here and there open to criticism.—*Portraits of Friends*. By John Campbell Shairp, etc. With a Sketch of Principal Shairp, by William Young Sellar, and an etched portrait. 12mo, pp. 212. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1889.) Prof. Sellar, of the University of Edinburgh, a younger school-mate of Principal Shairp at the Edinburgh Academy, and a colleague subsequently at St. Andrew's, contributes an introduction to this volume a graceful and discriminating notice of his friend. The body of the volume is made up of sketches, dealing mainly with the earlier life of the remarkable group of men here photographed for us. No one of the sketches claims to be a complete picture. Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen; George Edward Lynch Cotton, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta; Dr. John Brown, author of "Rab and his Friends;" Norman Macleod, John Macleod Campbell, John Mackintosh; and Arthur Hugh Clough, are the men of mark here described to us, whom any man would be proud and glad to call his friends. And Principal Shairp's relations to them were such as to make even these fragmentary notices valuable, as they certainly are pleasing and interesting.—*Problems in American Society*. Some Social Studies. By Joseph Henry Crooker. 12mo, pp. 293. (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1889.) The topics with which Mr. Crooker deals are "The Student in American Life;" "Scientific Charity;" "The Root of the Temperance Problem;" "The Political Conscience;" "Moral and Religious Instruction in our Public Schools;" and "The Religious Destitution of Villages." Each paper deals with an important problem, a problem of the times. While Mr. Crooker appears to belong to the radical wing of the Unitarian body, and therefore, on one or two of the questions here discussed, stands on ground which would call forth our serious dissent from some of his positions, we find ourselves in hearty agreement with him in much that he here advocates, earnestly, forcibly and effectively. The papers on charity, temperance and the political conscience are particularly worthy to be pondered. In connection with each paper there is a considerable list of books to be consulted in the broad and thorough investigation of its theme.—*Marriage and Divorce*, in Physical, Psychical, Moral and Social Relations; according to the Law Natural and Revealed. By B. Franklin, D.D. 12mo, pp. 208. (New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1889.) This volume, from the pen of an Episcopal clergyman in a rural parish of New Jersey, is a fearless and thorough discussion of one of the most important topics of the time, and of all times. Few volumes on the subject have appeared which enter so deeply and seriously into the manifold

relations of this most vital matter. Dr. Franklin goes beneath statistics, suggestive and startling as these have often been found to be of late in their disclosures, to deal with those deep principles which should more profoundly move the mind and heart, and stir to action. As a churchman, he naturally makes more account than has been made by some recent writers of canon law and the testimonies of the fathers, while he very properly reserves this branch of the subject for his closing chapter. This book must rank as one of the most valuable of those called forth by the alarming and appalling facts which have recently begun to compel public attention.—*The Old Missionary*. A Narrative, in four chapters. By Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 116. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) These papers appeared a few months ago as a series of articles in the *Contemporary Review*. Their author is not only the highest living authority in all statistical matters connected with India; he is warmly interested in its evangelization. Sir William tells the interesting story of the old missionary in such a way as to throw side lights on some of the profound and difficult problems which confront the Christian worker in that mighty peninsula. The pathetic story of itself engages and holds close attention; the problems that it incidentally suggests cannot be summarily dismissed.—*Rag Fair and May Fair*. The Story of "Me and Benje." By Julia McNair Wright. 12mo, pp. 302. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.) This is a story of life in East London, and must be pronounced one of the most successful works of the well-known author.—*Seven thousand Words often mispronounced*. A Complete Hand-book of Difficulties in English Pronunciation, etc. By William Henry P. Phyfe, etc. 16mo, pp. 491. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889.) Two volumes have preceded this in the series prepared by the author: "The School Pronouncer," and "How Should I Pronounce?" If we bring into comparison the convenient little hand-book, "Three thousand Words, etc.," prepared nearly twenty years ago by Soule and Campbell, we find the greater bulk of this volume due mainly to thousands of proper names and words of foreign origin which are here noticed. There is an attempt at greater precision in discriminating (especially some of the close *a* and *o* and *u* sounds). Words are not simply marked with diacritical signs, but also spelled phonetically. Where high authorities differ in their verdict, those differences are usually indicated, so that one who uses Mr. Phyfe's book may readily appeal to the authority to which he is accustomed to defer. Such a book is of great value not merely in correcting carelessness and removing ignorance, but in stimulating to the habitual use of and deference to authorities. The habits which prevailed in the time of the Judges of Israel, when "every man did what was right in his own eyes," are quite too prevalent in the use of our mother tongue, even among educated people.—*A German Reader*, for Beginners, with Notes and Vocabulary. By H. C. G. Brandt. 12mo, pp. 418. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1889.) The high scholarship and the teaching capacity of Prof. Brandt are indicated in every part of this Reader; in the judicious and progressive selections, the rich and helpful notes, and the vocabulary, which is not content merely with facilitating translation, but also opens the way to a broader interest in the origin and affinities of many words, without bewildering the beginner.

Princeton.

CHARLES A. AIKEN.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01025 9044

